

# SECRET CIPHERS OF THE 1876 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

New-York  Tribune.

THE  
CIPHER DISPATCHES.

*Always standing fast in the final citadel of Power, the keen,  
bright sunlight of publicity.*

—[MANTON MARBLE, Letter on "The Electoral Commission,"

EXTRA NO. 44.

**SECRET CIPHERS  
OF THE  
1876 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

**by  
D. Beaird Glover**

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## FOREWORD

This book will be of great interest not only to the historian whose concern is the study of cryptography (codes and ciphers) but also to the historian whose interest and study is American history in general and particularly that which took place in the aftermath of the Civil War.

The author guides the reader through the tragic and calamitous Civil War and subsequent Reconstruction period, carefully setting the scene for the 1876 Presidential Election. This event, which can only be described as one of the most violent and vehement presidential elections in the history of the United States, was an election whose outcome was unknown until some four months later, when a special Electoral Commission decided the outcome by a single political vote.

Two years later, in 1878, the *New York Daily Tribune* published four highly-charged and extensive special editions which revealed that Democratic party bosses had attempted to buy a number of electoral votes in order to swing the presidential election in favor of Samuel J. Tilden. The gross violations of political norms and conspiratorial activities of a number of Tilden supporters was proven by some 400 telegrams in cipher which were dispatched between various states and the Tilden headquarters at Gramercy Park, New York. By analysis, the *New York Daily Tribune* had solved or recovered most of the keys to the Tilden ciphers. The actual *Tribune* exposés are provided in four appendices.

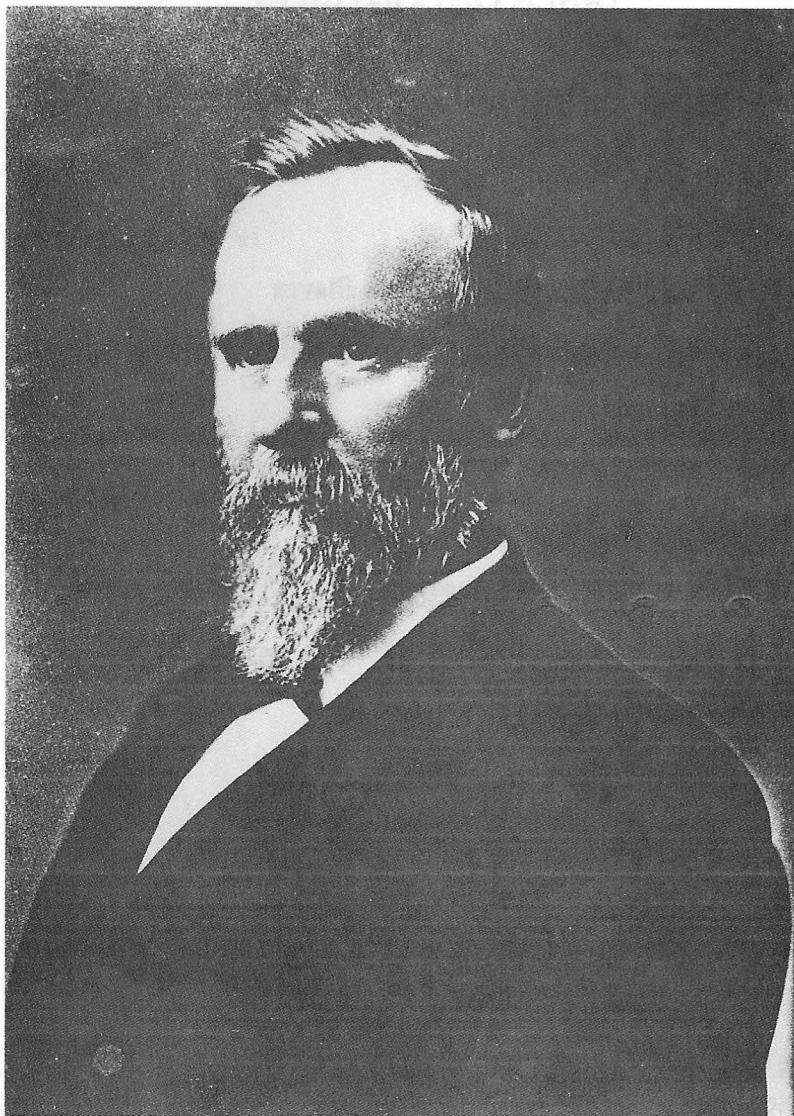
In January 1879, the *New York Daily Tribune* published Extra No. 44, titled "The Cipher Dispatches," perhaps best described as a summary of political intrigue on an almost unbelievable scale. This general wrap-up contains the keys and text of the 400 secret ciphers, and is provided in its entirety as Appendix E.

Finally, making this book particularly valuable for the serious student and reader, an especially germane 2-page paragraph is reproduced from William F. Friedman's *Military Cryptanalysis, Part I*. This paragraph is provided as Appendix F.

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Rutherford B. Hayes  
President of the United States, 1877-1881

# Chapter I

## Genocide and the Freedom to Have Slaves

*You can no more win a war  
than you can an earthquake.*

— Jeanette Rankin, 1974

Confederates fired on Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861, and the Civil War was on. It would be four years, less three days, before the most devastating war ever staged in the Americas would be over. One of every 30 people living in America died or was wounded in the Civil War. Scars left by the Civil War, on people and places, would take many years to heal.

The freedom to keep slaves was the great cause of the Southerners. They claimed they must have slaves for plantation farming and, more importantly, would not tolerate a government that might infringe upon this "right." Slave owners were strongly Democratic and the Democratic Party was often blamed for the Civil War. A slogan that arose later went, "If you scratch a Rebel, you'll find a Democrat underneath."

The Republican party was founded by those who believed most strongly in civil rights. They coined their name and became active in Jackson, Michigan, in July of 1854. They rallied around a central cause that slavery not be allowed into states where it was not already practiced. Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, who dreamed of a transcontinental railroad from Chicago to California, conceded that Kansas and Nebraska would become slave territories in order that his dream might be realized. Members of the Free Soil party, some Whigs (the Whig party had disintegrated nationally in 1852), and some Democrats refused this extension of slavery into territory where it did not already exist. The firmest believers in this single issue became known as the Republican party; they have held the presidential office more often than not since their conception.

And so it would seem that seven years later, in the infancy of the Civil War, these Republicans would fight on the Northern side of the war in order to free the slaves, just as the Southerners were fighting to keep the slaves. But the Northerners and the Republicans did not fight the Civil War solely for the good of blacks, as became apparent after the war. The North fought the Civil War to preserve the Union.

Preserving the Union seems a shaky premise and rather protective of a nation so young who had just broken away from England for its own freedom. Here is a group of people who wanted to break away and gain freedom from that governmental block, and that government, emanating from Washington, refused their liberty. To enslave human beings is surely sick shameless evil, and 258,000 Southerners died for the right to do just that. But they also died

because they did not want to be controlled. It is a strange paradox that so many would die to control others, that they might not be controlled themselves.

It was a domestic struggle for power: the central government in Washington wanted supreme control, Confederate states wanted to govern themselves. Southern landowners wanted to do as well as they could with the land, for which they thought they needed slaves. They had been operating with slaves for quite some time, and in their conservative manner could not imagine another way. The government in Washington determined the South would have slaves no more, and Southerners believed their sacred rights had been violated. They would not be told by this far away power in Washington what they could and could not do, and they decided to make a government for themselves, one that fit their views more adequately.

The Confederate Constitution was born, in many ways better than the original Constitution. The states would have more control of themselves, in a smaller country, instead of having orders passed down from Washington. The needs of the population (alas, the white population) would be understood, and attended to closer to home. But fighting was in their blood, and they would not break away peacefully — they broke away, with a vengeance.

Many Northerners did not understand why they were fighting to keep these radical Southerners in the United States when they so violently wanted out. If Southerners were naturally better fighters and better handlers of weapons due to hunting and their rugged lifestyles, or if the Union men were less committed or less confident — whatever the reason — 102,000 more lives were lost on the side of the blue than on the grey. If nothing else, the Southerners devoted their lives and all energies to their cause; they would have to be utterly destroyed before they conceded their freedom to the power and control of Washington.

The war raged for four years, with victories and defeats on both sides. The Union had more people to dispose of, and more resources, while the South had practically nothing. Their only ace was cotton, which they thought would provoke European sympathy and aid when the market became desperate. But Europe hardly missed the cotton of the South and although Napoleon III of France and England showed some sympathy to the Confederate cause, neither were ready to accept Union hostility, and economic contact with the South curtailed.

After one year of war, the South started running out of food. The North shut off supply lines, and Southern cotton fields were converted to corn and wheat, and were less productive all the time. By the end of the war in 1865, the South was producing one-eighth the amount of cotton it had produced in 1861. Southerners starved and the Union had no qualms with burning fields and taking livestock for their own. By the end of the war, Southern property value was less than half what it was in 1861.

War is not only stopping the attacks of the enemy, but stopping the ability to attack. Practically all industry at the time of war was in the North. Also, the mid-West could supply more soldiers and produce grain and livestock to feed its Northern warriors; they were better equipped in every way. Within two years, the Union stopped train lines that brought supplies and harbors were also cut off, leaving the South with almost no help from outside. With 500,000 fewer fighters on the Southern side, it is some wonder they held out as long as they did. In the bitter end, at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Commander Grant. One of the concessions made by Grant was the distribution of 25,000 rations to the 30,000 starving men in Lee's Confederate Army.

In a country of 37 states and less than 35 million people, approximately 1,000,000 fought for the Confederate side and 1,500,000 fought for the Union. That translates to one of every

fourteen people directly involved in the Civil War. It was an all consuming monster that touched every American life. Every living soul east of the Mississippi had some connection to the war, whether it was support for family or friends, production or supply of food, or clothing, or army munitions, or hospitals, or fighting — everyone felt the Civil War.

## Chapter II

### Easy Money and the Last of the Good Guys

*I needed the good will of the  
legislature of four states. I formed  
the legislative bodies with my own money —  
I found it cheaper that way.*  
— Jay Gould, infamous robber baron

The Confederates started the war between the states. Before the first shot rang out at Fort Sumter, Abraham Lincoln made his view clear that he fostered no ill will against those states who wanted to secede. He wrote the Emancipation Proclamation near the end of the war and became known as the liberator of slaves, but before the war he had no intention of fighting to free them. When the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter, Lincoln was fighting back, only to protect the Union from Southern aggressors. Had the South never fired on Fort Sumter, and withdrawn from the Union quietly, the Union would have been hard-pressed to refuse their secession. If the Confederate army had not formed and instigated violence, and had they turned their heads from activity in Washington, and kept their business to themselves, the basis of Civil War might have been different. But of course the Confederates shot first; the Union said, "They started it!" and that was all the license needed to dive headfirst into the most gruesome four years of bloodshed ever seen in America.

After the war, Lincoln did not heap vengeance on the defeated South. Radical Republicans wanted to treat the returning states with malice and punishment, but in order that the Southern states could retain their dignity, Lincoln wanted the transition back to be as simple and painless as possible. According to Lincoln, since secession was illegal, the states of the Confederacy had never left the Union. It was men in those states who levied war and when they were removed from power, and ten percent of the people in the rebellious states declared loyalty to the Union, then the states were restored to the Union, with full rights and privileges, as if it were all just a bad dream.

Lincoln's integrity and unpretentious devotion to America shines throughout. His policy of "having no policy" aided the United States because he was not bound to preconceived notions or the delivery of archaic rhetoric. He dealt with each problem individually and for its own merits, to the exclusion of what had been policy before.

"Sic semper tyrannus! The South is avenged!" said John Wilkes Booth while *Our American Cousin* played and then a bullet cut the air in Ford's Theatre. Lincoln's assassination, one month after his second inauguration and five days after General Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House, deprived the United States of the last intelligent, clear-thinking president it would have for quite some time.

Exit the last of the good guys and on with the villains. The Civil War now officially over and the South a wasteland; Reconstruction must begin. The Union stood economically stronger than ever before. In this gilded age, the clever hand turned the dollar, and dollars abounded for those willing to take a chance. The Civil War had seen the first of the big defense contractors and the fact that enterprising American business stood to make a pretty penny with the help of its own United States government. Industrialization took hold and corporate men took the place of mom-and-pop businesses. For the first time, a person could get rich by investing money and having someone else do the dirty work. John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and a slew of others raised their heads from the black lagoons where they hibernated, and promptly devoured everything in sight.

Corruption shined and became accepted, even mandatory to the processes that made America grow into a rich industrial giant. Money and power guided the American mind: wealth equalled respectability, and the American dream was born. Puritan self-denial went out the window and *gimme more, gimme more* filled the vacuous space before you could say, "There's a sucker born every minute." Schemes and speculations proved far more lucrative than the farm and less offending than sweat of the brow.

Charles Francis Adams, Jr., president of the Union Pacific Railroad and the Kansas City Stockyards, said this of America's fabulously well-to-do:

I am more than a little puzzled to account for the instances I have seen of business success — money getting. It comes from a rather low instinct... I have known... a great many "successful" men — "big" financially — men famous during the last half-century, and a less interesting crowd I do not care to encounter. Not one... would I care to meet again in this world or the next; nor is one associated in my mind with the idea of humor, thought, or refinement.

Land in the far west, anywhere across the Mississippi River, was given to any homesteader who would live there five years. As had been the case since the first boats arrived on the northeast coast, whites invaded the land of the Indians, decided they wanted it and promptly took it. Indians who had lived there for thousands of years before were systematically slaughtered, or simply driven further west. As homesteading came into play and anyone could have any land they could settle on, Indians were herded up and put on reservations, those pinching smaller and smaller as more whites arrived in the wide open west and prejudice kept the two very different cultures from settling together. Railroads were built and speculators strategically put towns at stops in the railroad lines.

In making the railroads, "robber barons" formed alliances with the government, made counterfeit stocks, and manipulated the stock market. Fortunes could be made in every aspect of the railroad except labor for building them. One of these railroad tycoons, Cornelius Vanderbilt, amassed a net worth of over 100 million dollars before he died in 1877; "What do I care about the law? Hain't I got the power!" he once said. His successors built the largest personal dwelling in the United States in Ashville, North Carolina, and as of 1991, it is still the largest house in America, three miles from the railroad.

Andrew Johnson became the seventeenth President of the United States and immediately pleased radical Republicans with his Reconstruction plans that treated the South more severely than Lincoln would have. The radicals intended to punish and strictly supervise all activity in the South, while Johnson's plans were not quite as brutal. Soon enough, Johnson's idea of Reconstruction proved unacceptable to Congress and the honeymoon was over. The legislature wanted control, he wanted control; they wanted full civil rights, suffrage for the freedmen and a Republican regime backed by the federal army; he was much less committed.

Johnson vetoed several Reconstruction acts and Congress overrode him by substantial majorities. Johnson's Reconstruction attempts of May 29, 1865, excluded all military and civil officers of the Confederacy and anyone who owned property worth \$20,000 from public office. With this huge section of Southerners barred, Johnson installed provisional governors of his choice to the vacant positions in the Confederate states.

These hand-picked scalawags moved south with their belongings in carpetbags, held conventions and picked officers for the new governments. Closely linked to the power in Washington, the new order scarcely acknowledged the people who lived there. Every seceded state but Texas, glorious Texas, satisfied Johnson's formula and from his point of view Reconstruction was finished. He did nothing to help freed slaves and never particularly believed they should have equal rights.

A congressional act of March 2, 1867, determined Johnson's Reconstruction unsatisfactory and every state except Tennessee had to start over. Now Congress had its chance. New Constitutions providing suffrage for blacks had to be written, and in the meantime the South was divided into five military districts: (1) Virginia; (2) North and South Carolina; (3) Georgia, Alabama, and Florida; (4) Mississippi and Arkansas; and (5) Louisiana and Texas, with federal troops and an army officer presiding over each territory. Former Confederates were still disqualified from any type of public service and the Radical Republicans successfully instilled martial law upon the South. Now blacks found places in government, representing their great numbers living in the South, but as education had been denied them their influence was slight and their token positions hardly offered any real gains.

The Radical Republicans grew weary of Andrew Johnson and in February 1868 they mustered enough votes in the House of Representatives to impeach him for "high crimes and misdemeanors," but fell one vote short of conviction.

Between 1869 and 1876 conservative southern groups such as the "Redeemers" regained political control by driving carpetbaggers and blacks out of public office in every southern state except Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. The Ku Klux Klan, formed on December 24, 1865, of ex-Confederate army officers, waged a guerrilla resistance to the carpetbag law. Unfortunately they did not act against the political or military occupying force; in ignorance and cowardice, they preyed upon defenseless and uneducated blacks. Dressed in white sheets, for an added psychological attack, they destroyed property, burned crosses, and beat and murdered black individuals until they were forced back into positions of inferiority. The KKK successfully destroyed any semblance of good that might have come of the Civil War or the new government's movement for racial equality.

## Chapter III

### A Hero's Reward

*I never aspired to but one office in my life.  
I should like to be mayor of Galena — to build  
a new sidewalk from my house to the depot.*  
— Ulysses S. Grant, when asked if he would  
aspire to public office after the war.

The great lumbering Ulysses Grant stumbled through life as an underdog; and as Lady Luck occasionally smiles on the poor wretched underdog, so she smiled on Ulysses. His name was not even Ulysses S. Grant: the "S," for Simpson, was his mother's family name, but not originally his name at all. When he arrived at West Point and checked in, Representative Thomas Hamer entered his name to the roll as Ulysses Simpson Grant, and though Grant notified officials of the error, no one felt authorized to correct it. Fare thee well, Hiram Ulysses Grant, and may your new name win you respect and a greater fortune than Hiram did.

Grant graduated from West Point in 1843, twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine. In regard to a military life, Grant said it "had no charms for me, and I had not the faintest idea of staying in the army." He took an appointment in the service though; he loved horses and wanted to enter the cavalry, but was allotted a position in infantry. He traveled with the army several times until he found himself in San Francisco, where his commanding officer issued him an ultimatum: he could either resign or stand trial for his excessive drinking. Grant chose to resign at the age of thirty-two, and moved to Missouri, where he failed miserably at farming, store-keeping, and harness-making. His hometown nickname of "Useless" Grant seemed appropriate. But just when his life seemed its worst, just as occurs in the mythical hero's quest, a new appointment sprang from the clear blue sky.

The Union needed people and leaders to fight the war and, without warning, the governor of Illinois offered Grant the position of Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers. Though he wandered through life without much direction, God bless him, Grant never turned away from opportunity or panicked when the pressure was on. He accepted, and soon became one of the greatest military leaders in United States history.

Grant found his true calling as leader of the troops. He won at Shiloh, and then came the victory that would bring him fame, if not fortune, at Vicksburg. There he refused to allow food into the city; the people of Vicksburg ate mule meat and the rations of the soldiers were cut to one-quarter the normal allowance. When Vicksburg fell, the full distance of the Mississippi River came under control of the Union; the war turned decisively in their favor, and the North found the hero it had been waiting for.

America loves a war hero, and what better way to honor Grant than make him president? With little or no interest in a political life, and certainly no training or experience, Grant was nominated by the Republicans for United States President in 1868. In the three years since the end of the war Grant had been showered with gifts from powerful people and enjoyed parties and balls in Washington. He didn't even have to actively campaign — let the Republicans take care of the political stuff. It was a classic shoe-in. The American people loved the man who ended the bloodshed: he had brought all the pain to an end, he was trusted, and since he could run the army so well, why not let him run the country? And so Grant was elected.

Grant's Cabinet was composed of friends and family, old war buddies and people he liked. A few turned out to be honest and good people; many were corrupt and utterly incompetent. Frauds flourished and scandals popped out of the woodwork. Indeed, Grant helped Jay Gould corner the gold market, possibly without even knowing it. Political corruption reached a frenzied height, while Grant remained innocent and trusting throughout. He never overcame his awe of wealth and happily accepted gifts, never suspecting ulterior motives in the plutocracy. Meanwhile the press uncovered one scandal after another, but nothing could stop the robber barons when money under the table bought exemption from the law or even changed the laws when necessary.

While campaigning for Grant's second term, Republicans blasted his opponent Horace Greeley so fiercely that Greeley said he could not tell if he were running for the presidency or the penitentiary. Within a month of his defeat, Greeley died, worn out from the campaign and full of disappointment and anxiety. Grant stayed in the shadows throughout the campaign, giving no speeches; Republicans campaigned on his war record, making little use of his first four years in office. Grant was voted in by an even larger majority to his second term.

But eight years of Grant was plenty. In his last message to Congress, Grant thoughtfully pardons his own errors:

It was my fortune, or misfortune, to be called to the office of Chief Executive without any previous political training.... Under such circumstances it is but reasonable to suppose that errors of judgement must have occurred... Mistakes have been made, as all can see.

Jim Fisk, a client of the future president-elect Samuel Tilden, said, "You can sell anything to the government at almost any price you've got the guts to ask." In 1870 John D. Rockefeller had formed Standard Oil Company and through mergers and ruthless tactics against those who would not come easily to the fold, a monopoly reared its head in the oil trade. Progress was the magic wand that justified exploitation. Power and lack of principle or self discipline dominated the age. The empire of the dollar stood proud and strong, impervious to any whispering sentiment that defamed gluttony, greed, or the insatiable lust for more and more power.

Mark Twain captured the moment well in *The Gilded Age*:

Some instinct taught Washington that his present lack of money would be an obstruction, through possibly not a bar, to his hopes, and straight-way his poverty became a torture to him which cast all his former sufferings under that head into the shade. He longed for riches now as he had never longed for them before.

Immigrants poured through the golden door of New York's harbor: four million Irish, millions of hardy Germans and Scandinavians — all were happily ushered in, for building railroads and mass industrialization requires cheap labor.

But finally the worm turned; the scales filled with shame could hold no more and the festering spoils of power came gushing to the floor. The Gilded Age began to decline. On September 17, 1873, Jay Cocke's banking house failed. Other banks fell with it and the New York Stock Exchange closed for ten days. The tumbling dominoes eventually meant the close of 18,000 businesses in the first Depression in the United States' one hundred years' existence, an event that was felt world-wide. One quarter of New York's one million residents were unemployed; nine hundred people starved to death in one of the largest cities in the world.

The Powers That Be screamed out in protest at the money sucking swine controlling America and in 1874 sent a plague of grasshoppers through Dakota Territory, Nebraska, Kansas, and down to Texas. This blanket of grasshoppers, 100 miles long and 150 miles wide, ate everything in sight, including window curtains, horses' harnesses, and plow handles; railroads were so slick with grasshopper puree trains could not run.

Thus the stage was set for the great election of 1876. Scandals greased the wheels that ran America; the power of money was unlimited. Men voted and the polls closed, but the results were cloudy. Several states were in question and the Presidency went up in the air. The most powerful lobbyist in town, money, came to the rescue and with much ado the Presidency was determined, four months after the election.



Samuel J. Tilden

## Chapter IV

### “Rutherfraud” Hayes vs. “Swindling” Tilden

*Politics are almost as exciting as war,  
and quite as dangerous. In war you can only  
be killed once, but in politics many times.*

— Winston Churchill, 1920

On election day, November 7, 1876, Samuel Jones Tilden suffered the most scandalous defeat in the history of the United States presidency. Though he won the popular vote by a quarter of a million, frauds surrounding the electoral college deprived him of office. Tilden won 4,284,757 votes, fully 700,000 more than had ever been cast by the American people for any other candidate.

Both the Democrats and Republicans fought vicious battles. The Democrats tried to buy the votes of the electoral college, and the Republicans for their part schemed to have returns altered to fit their needs. It was a heinous scramble for votes until the bitter end. Ultimately, while the Democrats sat, the Republicans jumped and manipulated circumstances in their favor. In the end an Electoral Commission voted to elect Rutherford B. Hayes to office as the nineteenth President of the United States.

The central issue in the disputed election was that Tilden, the Democratic Candidate, although receiving a popular majority, lacked but a single electoral vote to carry a clear majority of the electoral college. The problem was in 22 electoral votes: Florida's 4, Louisiana's 8, South Carolina's 7, and Oregon's 3. Each state sent in multiple sets of election returns.

The Democratic Party's first blunder came when, on the night of the election, United States Senator Barnum, of Connecticut, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, sent a message to the *New York Times* asking what news they had of Oregon, Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana. The *Times*, the strongest organ of Republican propaganda, seized this uncertainty to their advantage. The country edition of the *New York Times*, November 8, 1876, had claimed Florida for the Democrats, but upon receiving Barnum's query, a Mr. Reid of the *Times* sprang to his feet and exclaimed with a volley of expletives, "The Democrats are in doubt about Louisiana, and South Carolina, Florida, and Oregon; it's a close vote, we must stop the press and claim them for Hayes; we must claim as ours everything that the Democrats concede as doubtful." And so the paper claimed Louisiana, South Carolina and Oregon for Hayes and left Florida alone in doubt. The Republicans then moved fast to ensure they would carry these states, but the Democrats sat idly by. In these crucial moments victory was in their hands but they failed to clench it; while the Democrats hesitated, the Republicans lunged for the deciding votes.

Curiously, on the night of the election Hayes admitted defeat in his diary, while Tilden believed he had won. On November 8, the day after the election, even Republican newspapers printed victory for the Democrats. The *Indianapolis Journal* said:

With the result before us at this writing we see no escape from the conclusion that Tilden and Hendricks are elected.... The announcement will carry pain to every loyal heart in the nation, but the inevitable truth may as well be stated.

Supposedly all returns were to be opened before both Houses and counted upon their arrival in Washington. The great dilemma occurred as contrasting returns arrived from Oregon, Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida. Florida sent three returns — 2 for Tilden and 1 for Hayes. This was the first instance that more than one set of returns had come in from any one state. Ideally, the House of Representatives and the Senate would decide on the returns together and with neither the Democratic House of Representatives nor the Republican Senate making the decision without proper consent of the other.

When President Grant perceived trouble in the tally of the votes, he sent this letter with some whimsical thought of preserving Presidential integrity:

Philadelphia, Nov. 10, 1876.

To Gen. W.T. Sherman, Washington, D.C.:

Instruct General Augur, in Louisiana, and General Ruger, in Florida, to be vigilant with the force at their command to preserve peace and good order and to see that the proper and legal Boards of Canvassers are unmolested in the performance of their duties. Should there be any grounds of suspicion of fraudulent counting on either side, it should be reported and denounced at once. No man worthy of the office of President would be willing to hold the office if counted in, placed there by fraud; either party can afford to be disappointed in the result, but the country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns.

U.S. Grant.

Confusion abounded and an agreeable solution seemed impossible. After weeks of bitter debate, on January 27, 1877, the House of Representatives and the Senate composed an Electoral Commission to determine the winner of the disputed votes. The Commission consisted of five Senators, three of which were Republicans and two Democrats; five Representatives, three Democrats and two Republicans; and five Justices of the Supreme Court. These Justices were two Republicans, two Democrats and one non-partisan. David Davis was originally the fifteenth member, thought to be a fair choice because he was consistently neither Democrat nor Republican.

Republicans from the Senate:

George F. Edmunds, Vermont  
Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey  
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana

Democrats from the Senate:

Allen G. Thurman, Ohio  
Thomas F. Bayard, Delaware

Republicans from the House:

James A. Garfield, Ohio (future President)  
George F. Hoar, Massachusetts

Democrats from the House:

Josiah G. Abbott, Massachusetts  
Henry B. Payne, Ohio  
Eppa Hunton, Virginia

Republican Justices of the Supreme Court:

Samuel F. Miller, Iowa  
William Strong, Pennsylvania

Democrat Justices of the Supreme Court:

Nathan Clofford, Maine  
Stephen J. Field, California

The above fourteen were strictly window dressing. They would all vote along party lines regardless of the question. This was well-known from the beginning; the fifteenth member of the Electoral Commission, David Davis, the non-partisan, would surely decide it all.

Then once again Democrats blundered and opportunity knocked at the door of the Republicans. It was slim wit and cruel fate that led Illinois Democrats and Independents to elect Justice Davis to the United States Senate, on the same day the bill was passed endorsing the Electoral Commission. Davis was no longer eligible and a new person had to be found for the fifteenth slot. The Democrats surrendered their ground and Republicans hauled in the slack; the new choice was Joseph P. Bradley — a Republican. Of course he was expected to vote on the issues and not take allegiance with his known party, an absurd expectation that once again left the Democrats duped and the Republicans laughing all the way to the White House. This challenge for the nineteenth wearer of the Presidential crown was, in fact, the first time the Republicans had faced a serious challenge since their beginnings.

The Democrats only needed one state, only one electoral vote, to win, and they assumed the scales would surely tip to their side once. After all, Tilden had won 250,000 more votes than Hayes, and clearly it would be impossible to deny them every state. *Au contraire*, naïve Democrats! The Electoral Commission voted Republican on every issue, 8 to 7. The result: Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President.

This chaotic determining process lasted from election day, November 7, 1876, until just before Inauguration on March 4, 1877. The *Cincinnati Enquirer* called the Commission the “monster fraud of the century.” Ultimately several concessions were made by Hayes to Southern Democrats and they turned their heads as he took his oaths as President. However, when it became apparent that Tilden would not be granted the presidency, another Civil War nearly ensued. Minutemen in the South banded together to go to Washington and instate Tilden in office, but they never made it and Hayes did indeed become President. The election of 1876 was in no way a free and fair one, but the raw truth is this: Oregon and South Carolina voted Republican, Florida and Louisiana voted Democratic.

The concessions Hayes made which later became “The Compromise of 1877” included removal of all federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina (the two remaining Republican carpetbag governments) and federal support for education and internal improvements in the South. Also, a Southern Democrat would be appointed to the Cabinet and a hands-off federal policy would be adopted regarding Southern political affairs. Upon appointment to office Hayes did these things, and was so lenient with the South that radical Republicans believed he conceded too much. He kept his promises and is not found personally responsible for the swindling and corruption that landed him in office.

Here it must be said that both Tilden and Hayes were relatively honest men. Tilden said

many times that he knew nothing of the attempts of his party to buy votes. He knew the votes were for sale, but he had no part in the buying or negotiations for them. Hayes likewise probably did not encourage the activities of his party. They were only pawns, men with clean reputations offered up by two disreputable parties. When the Electoral Commission made their final decision and it was not Tilden, he accepted defeat gracefully; he may have even been relieved to step away from the whole sordid operation.

It was his party and Tilden's avid supporters that kept the fight alive through the first two years of Hayes' term in office. But when the captured Tilden ciphers appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* in September and October of 1878, culminating with the publication of Extra No. 44 in January, 1879,<sup>1</sup> hopes of his gaining the presidency finally fizzled. The ciphers were most likely turned over to the *Tribune* by Hayes' supporters in order to stop the bickering that demanded Hayes should be impeached or removed from office. While Hayes was never cleared of his dishonorable means of achieving office, the ciphers showed indeed that if Tilden had been elected it would have been by measures just as corrupt.

### Vicious, malicious campaign names

Leading up to the election of 1876, the year of the American centennial, the Grant administration was hardly the model of ethical government. Carpetbaggers — Northern Republicans and other capitalists — moved into the devastated South and operated the political functions of many states; Republicans held the power and lots of money was to be made by Northern entrepreneurs who dared move south of the Mason-Dixon line. The South was a shambles, beaten to a bloody pulp. The Republican administration moved in and set up camp; the people there were trifles to contend with, their ideas of government counted for nothing. The power in Washington believed Democrats to be the cause of the Civil War; Hayes used this mentality in his campaign. He said, "Not every Democrat was a Rebel, but every Rebel was a Democrat." He "waved the bloody shirt," bolstering his campaign and reminding everyone what might happen if a Democrat were elected.

This bloody shirt alluded to the nightshirt of A.P. Huggins, an Ohioan displaced in Mississippi, helping to Reconstruct the South by serving as tax collector and school superintendent. One night, in 1868, the Ku Klux Klan broke into his house and ordered him to leave the state in ten days. They proceeded to strip him and beat and lash him, driving their point home: he would be killed if he did not obey. Huggins reported the incident to the military authorities, who promptly forwarded his torn and bloody shirt to their comrades in Washington. From that point to the end of the century, Republicans rallied around the bloody shirt, blaming Democrats for the Civil War and scaring voters with ideas of what a Democrat might do if he reached the Oval Office.

Other planks in the Republican smear campaign included accusing Tilden of evading taxes, making millions as attorney for Jim Fisk and other evil corporate swindlers, and planning to pay off the Confederate debt if he was elected.

The first Presidential convention addressed by a woman was the Republican National Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, at which Sara Andrews Spencer spoke on June 15, 1876. She presented a memorial of the Women's Suffrage Association stating that "the right to use the

1. See Appendix E.

ballot inheres in the citizens of the United States.”

Democrats busily exposed scandals of the Grant administration, his nepotism and his spoils-system cabinet; they revealed the corruption of carpetbag governments still in the South. They said Hayes stole pay from dead soldiers in his Civil War Regiment and stole money from Ohio as governor. And, striking below the belt, that he “shot his mother in a fit of insanity.”

At the time of election, Rutherford Birchard Hayes was fifty-three years old, a former Ohio governor, Civil War hero and was friendly to civil service reform. He claimed in his campaign that he would take federal troops out of the South. Republicans cheered, “Hurrah! For Hayes and honest ways!” His opponents tagged him with the name “Rutherfraud Hayes,” and in the end, “Old 8 to 7.”

Samuel Jones Tilden entered the race for chief magistrate at the age of sixty-two; unmarried, in poor health, a nervous and cold intellectual with a secretive past as a corporation lawyer. He was not the perfect statesman for reform, but he had several credits to his name. He had convicted Boss Tweed and the Tweed Ring of swindling millions from New York through Tammany Hall, the Democratic machine which controlled New York City politics and stole between \$30 and 200 million through bogus contracts for city improvements. As governor of New York, Tilden had cracked the crooked Canal Ring. Tilden’s wealth attracted more attention than that of any previous presidential candidate.

Letters by the bag piled in from those promising votes for money. Ten shameless New York men, heretofore Republican, promised their votes for \$50 apiece. A writer from Minnesota penned “I feel very confident that with \$10,000 I can get seven thousand votes.” One man from Ohio informed Tilden that \$1,500 to \$2,000 would secure the votes of 3,000 miners in his district. A particularly honest man from Michigan promised:

Sir, If you want to doo anney thing in the pine woods of Michigan you will have to send some money. This stump speeking dos for some folks but not for the Boys in the whoods. They whant a more excitement then that. I have no money and we air all poor but we have a vote just the same. I can do more on the day of election with some monney then all the stumping your great men can do in a year.

Offers rolled in, even some marriage proposals, but all were neglected. Many people simply want to help Tilden (with a small return for themselves) and do their best for the Democratic party.

Maybe the most telling sign of the times came from a New Jersey patriot who knew of over one hundred persons in Trenton who will vote for Hayes because they will get \$1 dollar apiece for doing so. There never was a time when such a little money could get so many votes. I am a poor man, yet I trust that I am honest, yet, I cannot see ware it is wrong to give a man a dollar to vote for the one he wishes to get in when if he does not do so the other party will give him the money and get his vote.

In a direct comparison, the platforms of Tilden and Hayes look surprisingly the same and rather dull. Both wanted federal troops out of the South and civil service reform. These simplicities were the tangible issues in the election of 1876.

Southerners were mad as hell at having lost the war and having Northerners move in and take over. Southern blacks were "bulldozed," intimidated by Democrats to stay away from the polls, while Republican officials, often backed by federal troops, registered black voters and sometimes held them at bayonet point to vote more than once. In times like these, it seemed that forced brutality and wicked schemes were all that made anything work and that people in power used whatever means necessary to justify the end results. The political actions of 1876 make Watergate's tapped wires sound like petty tiffs between toddlers.

## Chapter V

### And Florida Picks...

*Democracy substitutes  
election by the incompetent many  
for appointment by the corrupt few.*  
— George Bernard Shaw, 1913

Florida wins the prize for ambivalence. First a return rolls into Washington saying Tilden won; close on its heels is one for Hayes. Two and a half months later, after a difficult time of what seems as easy as simple arithmetic, a third return rolls in, this one for Tilden. Finally, the Electoral Commission weighs the evidence and goes eight to seven for Hayes.

Counting ballots has never been so hard. First of all, there is little chance that the ballots showed a fair representation of the people of Florida. Before the actual voting, Democrats were likely to have kept blacks from registering, then kept them away from the polls when they did register.

The Republican carpetbag government that ruled Florida, though, may have made black voters register and vote against their will. The Republican platform indeed supported civil rights to a greater degree than the Democratic, so if black voters had been left to vote as they saw fit, and in what appears to be their own best interest, they probably would have gone Republican. But the election of 1876 was in no way a free or fair one, so no return could be assumed as utterly fair and unbiased.

Neither registration to vote, nor the Canvassing Board, nor the State Electors or the Electoral Commission were free of scandalous activity. Uncovering these scandals at least shows how Hayes took a state that was by all rights won by Tilden.

Of the four states in question, Florida pointed more toward Tilden than the rest. Intimidation of voters was a fact in southern states, but Florida gains some exemption by showing the least violence; therefore, of all contested states, Florida — and it alone (and Tilden needed only one) — should have been decided for the Democrats.

The initial count of votes in Florida yielded 24,441 electors for Tilden/Hendricks and 24,350 for Hayes/Wheeler. Then Republican chairman Zachariah Chandler and the Republican National Committee chairman William E. Chandler sent this telegraph to S.B. Conover in Tallahassee, Florida:

The presidential election depends on the vote of Florida, and the Democrats will try to wrest it from us. Watch it and hasten returns. Answer immediately. Hayes defeated without Florida. Do not be cheated in returns. Answer when sure.

South Carolina, Oregon, and Louisiana also received dispatches via Western Union reading much the same.

Sure enough, strange things began happening to the Florida returns. The votes of one precinct in Hamilton county, which gave Tilden electors a majority of 31, were thrown out on the affidavits of two Republican inspectors because they had absented themselves from the polls at different times during the day. The votes of a precinct in Jackson county, which gave the Tilden electors 291 votes and Hayes electors 77, were thrown out because the inspectors went to dinner after locking the ballot-box in a secure place and leaving the key with the Republican inspector, even though that inspector certified to the returns and testified that there was no fraud nor wrong about the election.

The entire vote of Matatee county — 262 for Tilden and 26 for Hayes — was thrown out because there had been no registration. But Governor Stearns had not appointed a county clerk and therefore there could be no registration in this strongly Democratic county. Within thirty days of Hayes' election, Governor Stearns was rewarded with an appointment as Commissioner of Hot Springs, Arkansas, at \$10 a day.

The votes of Key West — 401 for Tilden and 59 for Hayes — all went out the window because the election officers failed to complete the certificate of their returns on the day of the election. The ballots had been counted after the close of the poll, the result announced, and the certificate partly made out; then a bottle of ink spilled on the page and a new certificate had to be made. This new return was postponed until the following morning, at which time it was invalid.

The clerk and inspector of the segregated black poll in Alachua county brought their return to L.G. Dennis, the Republican boss of that county, with the return already signed and sealed, but the electing figures not yet filled in. When asked by Dennis for the vote of their precinct, they said 178 Republican and 141 Democratic. Expecting more Republican votes, Dennis sent the two men to an upper room, supplied them with a printed list of the voters of the county, and 219 names were added to the poll list, all voting Republican. One of the inspectors later made an affidavit that the return was forged and false, but it was still counted and allowed by the state canvassers. After the election, Dennis received a sinecure position in the supervising architect's office at Washington at a salary of \$7 a day. The inspector who helped make up the returns was appointed night inspector in the Philadelphia custom-house; the clerk was appointed a clerkship to the auditor of the treasury for the Post Office department.

The county judge and clerk of the Election Board of the seventh precinct of Jefferson county stole a bundle of one hundred Democratic tickets, which the inspectors had tied up while they were counting the ballots, and left in their place one hundred Republican tickets. The clerk confessed his crime and fled the state to avoid prosecution; nevertheless, the return was accepted and counted. Later the county judge and clerk were rewarded with clerkships in the Land Office at Washington, each with a salary of \$1,200 per year.

In the Monticello precinct of Jefferson county all but five of the Democratic ballots were stolen and Republican ballots substituted and counted. Moses J. Taylor, clerk of Jefferson county and inspector of one of the polls in the Monticello precinct, later received a clerkship in the General Land Office at Washington.

Joseph Bowes, inspector at Precinct Thirteen of Leon county, procured a lot of small Republican tickets printed in very fine type and on thin paper. Known as the "Little Jokers," they were printed at the official Republican printing office. After the election Bowes stated

that he had managed to smuggle seventy three of these into the boxes of his precinct. Evidence of this ballot-box stuffing was before the Returning Board, but the return for the precinct was accepted anyway. Bowes fled to Washington when it appeared he would be prosecuted for this fraud, but his crime was soon forgotten and he was appointed a clerkship to the Treasury Department, with a salary of \$1,600 per annum.

George D. Mills, telegrapher at Tallahassee and one of the clerks of the State canvassers, who coincidentally transmitted the Tilden dispatches and ciphers and later shared them with Republican mudslingers, was appointed clerk in the Pension office at Washington.

So much for the counting of the ballots. In cases here and many in Louisiana, Republicans discarded precincts the Democrats won, chalking up the Democratic victories to intimidation and violence. These are hard to measure in fair terms; while there was intimidation and violence on the part of the Democrats, the Republicans controlled the elections and announced voting results and uncovered intimidation practices at will.

### Will the *real* electors please stand up?

And what about those two returns Florida sent, electing Tilden and Hendricks? On December 6, 1876, Governor Stearns of Florida appointed four men as electors to the Electoral College: F.C. Humphreys, C.H. Pearce, W.H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long. They had filled out a return electing Hayes/Wheeler which was acknowledged by Governor Stearns and Secretary of State Samuel B. McLin as the valid return and then promptly sent to Washington.

Also on December 6, 1876, William Archer Cocke, Attorney General of Florida, issued a document declaring that on election day, November 7, 1876, the people of Florida elected Wilkinson Call, James E. Yonge, Robert B. Hilton, and Robert Bullock as the electors of President and Vice President of the United States. Two sets of electors? The Canvassing Board of Florida was called upon to reach into this political mud pie, to find the fraud, and display the veracious and untrimmed truth openly and plainly, leaving one unassailable and unquestionable set of electors.

The votes of every county and every precinct of Florida were brought before the board. The results showed that Call, Yonge, Bullock, and Hilton received more votes than Humphreys, Holden, Pearce, and Long. The votes tally like this:

Yonge . . . . .	24,440
Call . . . . .	24,437
Bullock . . . . .	24,437
Hilton . . . . .	24,437
Holden . . . . .	24,350
Humphreys . . . . .	24,349
Pearce . . . . .	24,345
Long . . . . .	24,344

With almost 50,000 voters, Florida could hardly be cut more perfectly down the middle. By less than 100 votes, the results favored Call, Yonge, Bullock, and Hilton. But Governor Stearns chose the other four. The Republican Governor Stearns naturally picked Republican electors, but unfortunately the vote had not been for them.

The Florida Canvassing Board (W.D. Bloxham, Secretary of State; C. Drew, Comptroller of Public Accounts; and Walter Gwin, Treasurer of the State of Florida) compiled this information and found that Call, Yonge, Bullock, and Hilton had been elected by the people of Florida to elect the President and Vice President of the United States.

This decision is documented by a letter to the Electoral Commission explaining the Board's findings and including lists of the voting by precincts. Then, on January 26, Call, Yonge, Bullock, and Hilton issued a statement to Washington, reiterating their authenticity as the true electors chosen by the people of the state of Florida. They too said the first set of electors, the ones picked by Governor Stearns, were false electors. This statement is signed, and with a state seal, by George F. Drew, the new Governor, and by W.D. Bloxham, Secretary of State. The four Electors also have their names followed by seals. Call, Yonge, Bullock, and Hilton voted for Tilden and Hendricks, once more using very formal, definitive legal language that left nothing to the imagination; presumably this document would be accepted as the genuine return.

All this information was brought before the Electoral Commission, and members of the House of Representatives even showed evidence that one of the electors chosen by Governor Stearns was ineligible. All things were considered and the proceedings continued for several days, reviewing and determining every small facet and possibility. In the end the decision was to keep the return sent by the Stearns' group. So it was that the Republican *yeas* beat the Democratic *nays* eight to seven.

Reading the proceedings in the *United States Electoral Commission* of 1877, "Electoral Count of 1877," baffles the mind. The Republicans held the commission by a majority of people, and put all evidence and truth aside. If the question had been put before the Commission, "Does Samuel J. Tilden have a nose on his face?" and then Tilden walked into the room and his nose was seen and touched and heard to sniffle by all — the Board would still vote eight to seven against the nose. And so Republicans won every major issue eight to seven.

### About those ciphers...

In the months between Election Day, November 7, 1876, and Inauguration Day, March 4, 1877, both parties scrambled madly for votes. The *New York Tribune* later published coded transactions between Tilden's campaigners that show the Florida Electoral Board and a certificate of the Governor were for sale for \$200,000.<sup>2</sup> The *Tribune* published this attempt to buy the very things that should have been Tilden's simply on the tally of the vote. Then, even when he did have Florida's Electoral Board, and the certificate of the Governor, by whatever means, Tilden still lost the United States Electoral Commission, a much stronger Republican organ, and therefore he lost the state.

All along the scandals of the Republicans were better oiled, slicker and more efficient than those of the Democrats. While the Democrats floundered and made short-sighted plans for small gains, the Republicans took in the big picture and operated efficiently, calling the Democrats on their weak attempts at fraud while having a *much* better fraud in progress the whole time.

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2. See Appendix C. See also Appendix E (pages E-18to E-29).

The dispatches that appeared in the *New York Tribune* found their way there by the hands of Republicans. The year was 1878 and Hayes had been uncomfortably in office for two years. The South, now Reconstructed after the Civil War, was devastated by a plague of yellow fever, which left nearly 6,000 dead by the end of the summer. Throughout the late summer months the *Tribune* kept a close watch on the plague; on August 27, 32 died in Memphis and 49 in New Orleans. On September 5, the *Tribune* said "In Memphis they think of burning the dead, because it is so hard to find men to bury them." The papers and public had continued beating the election horse all the two years; the Democrats were still dissatisfied with the returns from Florida and talked of impeachment; the public knew that Hayes was appointed President by less than honest means.

While this was true, the Republicans still had a few aces to play on the Democrats. To rid Hayes of his stigma, and to prove once and for all that the Democrats were at least as bad as he, they buried the hatchet deep in Tilden's back with the publication of the "Tilden Ciphers." With the help of the *New York Daily Tribune*, all thought that Tilden and his men had played fair was vanquished.

There were apparently about 400 ciphers, sent between the states where the contest raged fiercest, from Tilden's home at 15 Gramercy Park in New York, and from Democratic headquarters. On October 7, 1878, the *Tribune* printed the keys that would transcribe the ciphers.<sup>3</sup>

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3. See Appendix B. See also Appendix E (pages E-10 to E-17).

## Chapter VI

### Political Intimidation in Louisiana

*The Republicans, I believe, do not deny  
that a majority of the votes actually polled are against them.*  
— *New York Tribune*, November 15, 1876,  
on Louisiana election results

Louisiana, the land of peaceful, easy feelings down on the Bayou, hardly seems the place for political intimidation. Not to mention assassination. But in the fierce battle for the presidency in 1876, these things were the norm more than the exception. The Republicans did of course carry the state in the end, but it was not an easy victory. Louisiana voted strongly for the Democratic ticket (a 6000+ majority), but the tactics employed to get that majority were contested and the Commission, biased for the Republican party, found 69 polls of 22 parishes to throw out. Not surprisingly, Hayes then had the majority in the state.

No one ever questioned that Democrats received more votes; therefore one would think that they should have carried the state directly and any action to the contrary was a blatant breach of diplomacy and a horrendous scandal to boot. But with a closer look it seems that the Republicans were justified in throwing out at least some of the votes. It is unknown who exactly was intimidated and who was not, and whether all of the 69 polls should have been thrown out or only some fraction of them. But supposedly the people who go to the polls on election day have *some* voice in who is to be the next president. Those who do not vote, even if they are held at bayonet point or left dangling from a tree before the election, have no voice in who is to be the next president. In this case the voices of those who did vote were nullified because of the ones who were not allowed to vote. If the number thrown out equaled the number who could not vote is impossible to know. What is known is that enough were thrown out that Hayes had the majority of the votes remaining.

Intimidation was, in truth, one of the central forces of the campaign. Blacks would as naturally vote Republican as their former masters would naturally vote Democratic; blacks wanted to become Democrats about as much as whites wanted to become slaves. But amazing numbers of people changed from Republican to Democrat in the two years between the election of 1874 and the one of 1876. Abrupt changes in party affiliation occurred in the five counties that were charged with "bulldozing."

	Election of 1874		Election of 1876	
	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican
East Baton Rouge	1,556	2,546	1,102	1,474
East Feliciana	847	1,688	1,736	- -
West Feliciana	501	1,358	1,248	778
Morehouse	654	1,017	1,371	782
Ouachita	766	1,694	1,865	793
Totals	4,324	8,303	7,322	3,829

Aside from ballot-box stuffing, which accounts for some of the votes, one can't help but wonder what inspired so many people to change their political feelings in so short a period of time. One very compelling reason might have been espoused by members of the white rifle clubs in Louisiana, who instilled the political correctness of the Democrats by chanting this ditty in the humid night air: "A charge to keep I have, a God to glorify; If a nigger don't vote with us, he shall forever die."<sup>4</sup> Changing political views due to threatening men in white costumes is humiliating, but it beats the hell out of getting murdered.

All this aside, political assassinations were not uncommon in this bloody unsettled time. Sadly enough, the vote of a black man meant more than his life. It is a grisly fact that the votes of former slave states were tainted by verbal or physical intimidation.

One such example that came before the Electoral Commission was this: Henry Pinkston, a Radical Republican, and an infant, were murdered one night by people of their own small community, "the Island" of Ouachita parish. Eliza Pinkston lived in the same house and was also brutally beaten and left for dead. In court, she testified to the murders of Pinkston and the infant. Her testimony, that of a black woman of questionable repute, counted very little. It was observed, though, that she had unhealed gashes and wounds on her thighs, neck, head, and breasts. As she described the murder of the infant in different terms than the infant appeared in its found state, other parts, if not all, of her testimony were considered invalid. The fact that the infant and Pinkston were dead and she had been brutally treated were lost in a battle of words in which facts became blurred and litigious blather nullified her account of the event.

She said several white men broke into the house and told Henry that if he voted the Republican ticket, he would have "to vote in hell." They proceeded to cut him with knives, drag him outside, and then shoot him seven times.

These barbaric acts of intimidation pervaded the atmosphere since the Civil War and the loss of voice suffered by Southern Democrats. Radical white groups used vicious means to justify end results. They wanted some sense of control in their local government and, as they had no power in Washington, they at least wanted some recognition in their home state of Louisiana.

In 1872, four years earlier, the Louisiana gubernatorial election was claimed by both William Pitt Kellogg and John McEnery. With aid from federal troops, Kellogg, the carpetbag Republican, was installed and recognized by the higher power in Washington. Though McEnery was also inaugurated, he received no support or validation from the U.S. Government.

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4. Haworth, Paul Leland. *The Hayes-Tilden Presidential Election of 1876*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1906. Reissued 1966.

On September 14, 1876, the White League rose against the Kellogg government; a battle ensued in the streets of New Orleans. Kellogg was driven from office and he and his supporters were forced to take refuge in a custom-house. Again the federal government interfered, and Kellogg was reinstated by United States bayonets.

During the next two years, little better than anarchy existed in some parts of Louisiana. In a few parishes the officials were either "driven out or murdered, sometimes because they were of bad character or incompetent, but in some cases solely because they were Negroes or white Republicans."<sup>5</sup>

Both Kellogg and McEnery sent returns to Washington. Kellogg and seven people of his choice, much like the electors chosen by Governor Stearns in Florida, voted for Hayes. McEnery and his seven electors picked Tilden.

The thrown-out votes clearly left Kellogg and Hayes winners, causing a great stir in the Democratic camp, which believed not only that the votes should be kept, but that the ones thrown out were done so unlawfully. The Returning Board of Louisiana had no power to reject the vote of any precinct unless the certificate from that precinct came to them accompanied by a sworn protest signed by the supervisors, testifying that intimidation had been practiced. The Commissioners of Elections in each parish were required by law to make out their returns on the day of the election, and if anything happened to affect "the purity and freedom" of the election, they were to make a statement thereof under oath and have three citizens vouch for its truth, and forward this statement with their returns, the tally sheets, and registration lists, all made out in duplicate, one to the supervisor and one to the clerk of the Parish Court.

Upon receiving the return, the supervisor would then consolidate his return with the one of the Commissioner and have them certified as correct and identical by the clerk of the District Court. One statement would then be left with the clerk and he would forward the other by mail, enclosed in an envelope of strong paper or cloth, securely sealed, to the Returning Board, with all the returns made by the commissioners, including their statement, if any, in regard to occurrences affecting the "purity and freedom" of the voting. They had no authority to reject the returns from any poll or to refuse to compile them in their consolidated statements.

When these consolidated returns reached the Returning Board, its duty was first to compile the vote from those polls where there was presented a "fair, free, and peaceable registration and election." That done, they were to take up the cases where the commissioners reported there had not been a fair, free, and peaceable registration and election.<sup>6</sup>

These instructions were hardly followed to the letter of the law. In fact, only seventeen supervisors sent their packages, as the law required, by mail. The votes were tallied all together, instead of counting the fair ones first, and consideration of the possible intimidation came as a secondary issue. Only one instance of intimidation was alleged.

The polls to be thrown out, then, were picked from the conglomeration of returns before the Louisiana Returning Board. This board consisted of four persons — all of the Republican party — instead of five persons of the two parties, as required by law. The four members were requested and required by Democrats to fill the vacancy with a Democrat, but had

5. Haworth, Paul Leland. *The Hayes-Tilden Presidential Election of 1876*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1906. Reissued 1966.

6. Bigelow, John LL.D. *The Life of Samuel J. Tilden*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1895.

uniformly refused to do so. They proceeded to throw out the precincts that voted Democratic, leaving a Republican majority for the state. Whether intimidation was practiced in all of the 69 canceled precincts, to justify the rejection of 10,000 votes, is unknown, and seems unlikely, but there was much violence and intimidation on the part of the Democrats. However, the Republicans controlled the polling places, the Returning Board, and indeed, all political decisions in the state.

Republican intimidation practices were more sedate, and kept inside their own party walls. There is no evidence of threats to Democrats, or those who did not have some place in the Republican camp. Those who acted as supervisors, commissioners and judges of the election were Republicans, with very few exceptions. They faced bribery and threats not on their lives, but to their futures working with the party. This is apparent in a letter from the Republican headquarters to a supervisor of registration.

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN PARTY OF LOUISIANA,  
Rooms Joint Committee On Canvassing And Registration

MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, Sept. 25, 1876.

Supervisor of Registration, Parish of Assumption, LA.:

Dear Sir:

It is well known to this committee that, from examination of the census of 1875, the Republican vote in your parish is 2,200, and the Republican majority is 900. You are expected to register and vote the full strength of the Republican party in your parish.

Your recognition by the next State administration will depend upon your doing your full duty in the premises; and you will not be held to have done your full duty unless the Republican registration in your parish reaches 2,200, and the Republican vote is at least 2,100.

All local candidates and committees are directed to aid you to the utmost in obtaining the result, and every facility is and will be afforded you but you must obtain the results called for herein without fail. Once obtained, your recognition will be ample and generous.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D.J.M.A. Jewett,  
Secretary.

Then we come to the Electoral Commission, who reviewed the evidence in Washington and then made an utterly biased opinion. It seems that at the point when eight Republicans and seven Democrats were chosen for the Commission, the whole venture could have been stopped. If the Commission were to remain in this lopsided form, which it did, how could anyone expect that any return would come but for the Republicans.

But the proceedings were held anyway, and Democrats objected to the Kellogg certificate on grounds that he was not lawful governor and none of his electors were voted by the state. Technically they were absolutely correct, to wit:

	votes
John McEnery . . . . .	83,723
R.C. Wickliffe . . . . .	83,859
L. St. Martin . . . . .	83,650
F.P. Poche . . . . .	83,474
A.De Blanc . . . . .	83,633
W.A. Seay . . . . .	83,812
R.G. Cobb . . . . .	83,530
K.A. Cross . . . . .	83,603
W.P. Kellogg . . . . .	77,174
J.H. Burch . . . . .	77,162
Peter Joseph . . . . .	74,913
L.A. Sheldon . . . . .	74,902
Morris Marks . . . . .	75,240
A.B. Levissee . . . . .	75,395
O.H. Brewster . . . . .	75,479
Oscar Joffrion . . . . .	75,618

The Democrats wanted to keep the original return; this return, they said, was "illegally and fraudulently changed, altered and rejected." They proceeded to produce the second return, the one that came after the deletions.

John McEnery . . . . .	70,508
R.C. Wickliffe . . . . .	70,509
L. St. Martin . . . . .	70,553
F.P. Poche . . . . .	70,335
A. de Blanc . . . . .	70,536
W.A. Seay . . . . .	70,525
R.G. Cobb . . . . .	70,423
K.A. Cross . . . . .	70,566
W.P. Kellogg . . . . .	75,135
J.H. Burch . . . . .	75,127
Peter Joseph . . . . .	74,014
L.A. Sheldon . . . . .	74,027
Morris Marks . . . . .	74,413
A.B. Levissee . . . . .	74,003
O.H. Brewster . . . . .	74,017
Oscar Joffrion . . . . .	74,736

This was the Democrat's assertion of their right to the vote of Louisiana, made the Electoral Commission:

Of the votes actually cast at the late election for the appointment of electors in Louisiana, the Democratic electors received majorities ranging from 5,300 to 8,990; on the face of the returns, as made by the supervisors of registration to the board of returning officers, their majorities ranged from 3,459 to 6,405, but by the canvass and the return made by the returning

officers, majorities were certified in favor of the Republican electors ranging from 3,437 to 4,800. To produce this result 69 polls were rejected, embracing 22 parishes in whole or in part.

In the canvass thus made by the returning officers, there were actually frauds committed by them in this, that they failed and refused to canvass and compile the statements of votes made by the commissioners of election, and pretended to consider only the consolidated statements made by the supervisors of elections. In this manner the parish of Grant was rejected entirely, because the statement of votes made by the commissioners of elections, although before them, had not been returned by the supervisor of registration. They also refused for the same reasons to consider 2,914 votes cast for the Democratic electors and 651 votes cast for the Republican electors, mainly in the parishes of East Baton Rouge and Orleans. They transposed 178 votes from Democratic electors cast in the parish of Vernon to the Republican electors, which transposition has never been corrected. They rejected poll No. 4 in the parish of Iberia, in which were cast 322 votes for the Democratic electors, and 11 votes for the Republican electors, for no other alleged cause than that the commissioners statement did not show that the word "voted" had been written or stamped on the certificates of registration presented by the voters. They rejected polls 1, 3, and 10 in the parish of Vernon, aggregating 179 votes for the Democratic electors and none for the Republican electors, upon affidavits fraudulently made and filed after they had closed their public sessions, and they added to the votes as returned by the supervisors of registration over 500 votes in the parish of Natchitoches, upon no sufficient proof that such votes had been actually cast, and without the knowledge of the Democratic electors interested in the question.

In some instances polls were rejected because, from the necessities of the case, commissioners of elections at such polls were Democrats the supervisors of election not being able to find qualified Republicans to fill such positions.

From these and other facts of a like nature, it is charged and claimed that the action of the board of returning-officers was so corrupt and fraudulent as to destroy all faith and credit in their canvass and return.

Again, in rejecting the polls the board of returning-officers acted without lawful authority, there being but few, if any, cases in which the returns made to them had been accompanied by any proper certificate or statement of the supervisors of registration or commissioners of election, as provided for in the law under which they claimed to act, contesting the fairness of the registration or election, but arbitrarily, and without any sufficient foundation being laid therefore and upon false and fraudulent affidavits manufactured for that purpose, rejected such polls on charges of riot, tumult, bribery, &c., without any proper hearing on the part of the parties interested."<sup>7</sup>

The Commission raised objections back and forth, speakers spoke, and in the end the case was decided, as expected, for the Hayes electors, 8 to 7.

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7. United States Electoral Commission. *Proceedings of the United States Electoral Commission, 1877*  
*The Electoral Count of 1877*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877.

## Chapter VII

### Oregon, Hardly Worth the Debate

*The fact is, Mr. Bolton, that the price is raised so high on United States Senator now, that it affects the whole market; you can't get any public improvement through on reasonable terms.*

— Mr. Bigler, Mark Twain's *The Gilded Age*, 1873

It was freely admitted in Oregon that Republicans won the majority. The dispute came when Governor Grover, a Democrat, attempted to help his party. As Governor Stearns did for the Republicans in Florida, and Governor Kellogg in Louisiana, Governor Grover attempted to do for the Democrats in Oregon. He was unsuccessful. The Electoral Commission kept the returns sent by the Governors of Louisiana and Florida, even though the majority of votes in those states differed from the candidates chosen. Here is a case exactly the same but switching party names, now having a Democratic governor and the state vote Republican; and Republicans manipulated the board, again in their favor, regardless of the precedent. The Democrats, amateurs at the sport of politics, only fell on their faces trying the same trick.

The minority of the Commission, the seven Democrats, said this after losing the state:

The undersigned denounce the Oregon decision as utterly at war with and reversing the rule established in the two former cases, and because it changes the law to meet the wants of the case, establishing different rules applicable to the same facts to bring about a desired result.

Answering to the proposed scandal, Democrats called it a “good joke” and then lost the state, as they did all the disputed states.

As to the particulars of the case, one of the electors Oregon chose held the office of postmaster, a state position of trust and profit. This made him ineligible. Democrats, with the help of Governor Grover, picked a Democratic elector to take his place, filling in for the disqualified elector. Unfortunately, law required that the two elected pick a third elector, which would be Republican. With some debate, and an attempt by the Democrats to buy the electors for themselves, the decision was finally against them.

As with all the states, Democrats attempted to buy electors. The ciphered telegrams printed in the *New York Daily Tribune*<sup>8</sup> show the Democrats bargained for the electors, but eventually could not pay the price — or at least could not move the money in time. Even with the popular votes against them, Oregon was the Democrat's best chance at the Presidency. Lacking in sure-footed action, they were unable to buy the state, even with their

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8. See Appendix A. See also Appendix E (pages E-42 to E-51).

own people in charge of the state.

Odds are that in the other states, Republicans paid to secure Hayes' victory. Since offers were made to the Democrats, and they bungled every attempt, the same offers were probably handled more deftly by Republicans.

## Chapter VIII

### Dispute for South Carolina

Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

— Mao Tse-tung

The Palmetto state did not show a majority of votes for the Democrats. They might have had not President Grant increased federal troops there to thirty-three companies; two weeks before the election, every available soldier from Fortress Monroe northward converged on Columbia, Charleston, and other cities of South Carolina.

The "Hamburg Massacre" of July 8 prompted the fear that more violence and intimidation might be on the way. Dock Adams, the captain of a black army company, was on trial for resisting the passage of two whites in a buggy. On July 4th, the black company had been marching in parade form down a public street. The whites apparently demanded to go directly through the company and were temporarily halted; they said the company refused their passage. Soon the company parted and the whites continued on their way, through the street as they wished. Believing they had been mistreated, they filed a legal complaint and four days later came the day of the trial. About one hundred armed white men were on hand to wrest justice for their racist brothers.

Fearing the mob, Dock Adams and others took refuge in the Aiken County armory. The mob demanded Dock Adams' appearance at the trial and, when he would not leave the armory, they finally fired on it. Those in the armory fired back and held their own for a short while, until their ammunition was spent. In the process, one white man was killed. Their ammunition gone, Doc Adams and his men fled the armory; at least six were shot down in the attempted escape.

This provoked Governor Charmerlain's petition to President Grant for troops, in case racial violence became more than the state could handle. Federal bayonets silenced the revolvers and rifles of South Carolinian gun clubs. The state may very well have voted Democratic without the presence of the federal militia.

Democrats claim intimidation on the part of this military, which is entirely possible. With Florida and Louisiana, South Carolina was one of the three remaining carpetbag states. As in Louisiana, Democrats were asserting strength in whatever way they could. The federal troops and officers may have intimidated white supremacist Democrats to keep them from intimidating black Republicans. Democrats made a small claim that the forces were designed to keep their votes to a minimum. These allegations, of course, had no effect on the South Carolina Returning Board or the Electoral Commission.

While federal troops did occupy cities, many polling places were unattended and some evidence of intimidation stands against the Democrats. Edgefield county, which in 1874 gave a Republican majority of 449 out of a vote of 6,298, this time gave a Democratic majority of 3,134 out of a total of 9,374, which was 2,252 more votes than the total number of adult males in the preceding year.

Laurens county gave a Republican majority of 1,077 in 1874; in 1876 the majority was 1,112 Democratic. Ballot-box stuffing may have been the key in these cases, but odds are that black voters who changed from Republican to Democrat in those years, not only in South Carolina but all over the South, did so valuing their lives more than their pick of the next president.

It was not until two years later, in October 1878, that the true extent of the fraudulent efforts of the Democratic managers in South Carolina became fully known.<sup>9</sup> The *New York Daily Tribune* on October 16, 1878, featured a number of cipher dispatches and their translations which described how Mr. Tilden's representatives tried to buy the vote of South Carolina. The political campaign in South Carolina can only be described as that of bribery and violence. In the end, in spite of the vicious efforts of the Democrats, South Carolina's seven electoral votes — after the vote of a National Electoral Commission — went to Rutherford B. Hayes.

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9. See Appendix D. See also Appendix E (pages E-30 to E-42).

## Chapter IX

### Tilden on the Stand

*History would be an excellent thing  
if only it were true.*

— Leo Tolstoy

When the Electoral Commission finally closed proceedings, it was March 2, 1877, two days before inauguration day. Often during those ambiguous months the scales leaned for Tilden, then back to Hayes. The supposedly non-partisan officer claimed that he was sympathetic to Democratic points, but when voting time rolled around he went with the Republicans. Time after time the vote was eight to seven; so in the end it is no surprise that many Democrats screamed foul, hoping somehow Tilden would win the inauguration.

Samuel Tilden, though, accepted the defeat and wanted to leave the bill settled long before those in his party. He accepted the loser's thorny crown with relief and tried to step away. Enough of this madness, buying and selling votes for the Presidency. Although his party tried to nominate him in 1880 and again in 1884, he refused all nominations. His health was bad, he said, and he was getting on in years. After the monumental effort of his near-election, he wanted to be left in peace. He toured Europe, then purchased the Graystone estate at Yonkers, three miles from the northernmost part of New York City, where he intended to retire.

Beginning in August 1876, before the election, a legal battle was waged against Tilden, started by the *New York Times*, and joined by the United States Government. It continued until October 1882. Income tax evasion and other charges were made, but no substantial proof was produced and eventually the charges were dropped.

Then, in 1878, the Tilden ciphers were offered to the *New York Daily Tribune*, who immediately printed them with a vengeance against the defeated man.

Tilden wasted no time returning this long-winded defense to the *Tribune*:

New York, Oct. 16, 1878.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Sir:

I have read the publications in the *Tribune* of the 8th instant, purporting to be translations of cipher telegrams relating to the canvass of votes in Florida at the presidential election of 1876, and have looked over those printed in the *Tribune* of this morning relating to the canvass in South Carolina. I have no knowledge of the existence of those tele-

grams, nor any information about them, except what has been derived from or since the publications of the *Tribune*.

So much for these telegrams generally. I shall speak yet more specifically as to some of them.

1. Those which relate to an offer purporting to have been made in behalf of some member of the State Board of Canvassers of Florida, to give, for a pecuniary compensation, certificates to the Democratic electors who had been actually chosen.

None of these telegrams, nor any telegram communicating such an offer, or answering such an offer, or relating to such an offer, was seen by me, translated to me, or the contents of it in any manner made known to me. I had no knowledge of the existence or purport of any telegram relating to that subject. Nor did I learn the fact that such an offer of the Florida certificates had been made until long after the 6th of December, at which time the certificates were delivered and the electoral votes cast; and when the information casually reached me, as of a past event, it was accompanied by the statement that the offer had been rejected.

2. As to the publications in the *Tribune* of this morning, purporting to be translations of cipher telegrams relating to the canvass of votes in South Carolina in 1876, which I have seen since I wrote the foregoing, I can speak of them no less definitely and positively. No one of such telegrams, either in cipher or translated, was ever shown to or its contents made known to me. No offer or negotiation in behalf of the State canvassers of South Carolina, or of any of them, or any dealing with any of them in respect to the certificates to the electors, was ever authorized or sanctioned in any manner by me directly or through any other person.

I will add that no offer to give the certificates of any returning board or State canvassers of any State to the Democratic electors in consideration of office or money or property; no negotiation of that nature in behalf of any member of such board or with any such member; no attempt to influence the action of any such member, or to influence the action of any elector of President and Vice-President by such motives, — was ever entertained, considered, or tolerated by me or by anybody within my influence by my consent, or with my knowledge or acquiescence. No such contemplated transaction could at any time have come within the range of my power without that power being instantly exerted to crush it out.

A belief was doubtless current that certificates from the State of Florida, conforming to the actual vote of the people, were in the market. "I have not the slightest doubt in the world," said Mr. Saltonstall, who was in Florida at the time, in a recent interview with the *Herald* correspondent, "that that [Florida] vote could have been bought, if Mr. Tilden had been dishonorable enough to desire it done, for a great deal less than fifty thousand dollars or twenty thousand dollars." It was known that either one of the two members who composed a majority of the Florida State canvassers could control its action and give the certificates to the Democrats. Either one of them could settle the presidential controversy in favor of the Democratic candidates, who lacked but one vote.

How accessible to venal inducements they were, is shown by the testimony of McLin, the chairman of the Board of State Canvassers, in his examination before the Potter committee in June last. He admitted that the true vote of the people of Florida was in favor of the Democratic electors, and that the fact even appeared on the face of county returns,

including among them the true return from Baker county, notwithstanding the great frauds against the Democrats in some of the county returns. He also confessed that in voting to give the certificates to the Republican electors he acted under the influence of promises that he should be rewarded in case "Mr. Hayes became President"; adding that "certainly these promises must have had a strong control over my judgment and action."

After certificates of the Louisiana Returning Board had been repeatedly offered to Mr. Hewitt and others for money, they were given in favor of the Republican electors, who had been rejected by a large majority of the voters; and the members of this Returning Board now possess the most important federal offices in that State. The pregnant fact always remains that none of these corrupt boards gave their certificates to the Democratic electors, but they all did give them to the Republican electors.

I had a perfectly fixed purpose, from which I never deviated in word or act, — a purpose which was known to or assumed by all with whom I was in habitual communication, — if the presidency of the United States was to be disposed of by certificates to be won from corrupt returning boards by any form of venal inducements, whether of offices or money, I was resolved to take no part in the shameful competition, and I took none.

The main interest of the victory which resulted in my election was the expectation that through the chief magistracy a system of reforms, similar to that which had been accomplished in our metropolis and in our State administration, would be achieved in the federal government. For this object it was necessary that I should be untrammelled by any commitment in the choice of men to execute the official trusts of the government, and untrammelled by any obligations to special interests. I had been nominated and I was elected without one limitation of my perfect independence. To have surrendered or compromised the advantages of this position by a degrading competition for returning-board certificates would have been to abandon all that made victory desirable, everything which could have sustained me in the larger struggle that victory would have imposed upon me. I was resolved to go into the presidential chair in full command of all my resources for usefulness, or not at all.

While thus abstaining from an ignominious competition for such certificates, I saw these certificates obtained for the Republican electors, who had not been chosen by the people, and denied to the Democratic electors, who had been chosen by the people. These false and fraudulent certificates, now confessed and proved to have been obtained by corrupt inducements, were afterward made the pretexts for taking from the people their rightful choice for the presidency and vice-presidency. These certificates were declared by the tribunal to which Congress had abdicated the function of deciding the count of disputed electoral votes to be the absolute and indisputable conveyance of title to the chief magistracy of the nation.

The State of Florida, which had united all here executive, legislative, and judicial powers to testify to Congress, long before the count, who were her genuine agents, which had by statute caused a re-canvass, the issue of new certificates, and a formal sovereign authentication of the right of the true electors to deposit the votes entitled to be counted, was held to be incapable of communicating to Congress a fact which every-

body then knew and which cannot now be disputed.

Congress, though vested by the Constitution with the authority to count the electoral votes; though unrestricted either as to time when it should receive evidence, or as to the nature of that evidence; and though subject to no appeal from its decision, — was declared to have no power to guide its own count by any information it could obtain, or by any authority which it might accept from the wronged and betrayed State whose vote was about to be falsified.

The monstrous conclusion was thus reached that the act of one man, holding the deciding vote in a board of State canvassers (for without his concurrence the frauds of the other returning boards would have failed), in giving certificates known at the time, and now by himself confessed, to be false and fraudulent, and confessed to have been obtained by the promise of office, — certificates whose character was known months before Congress could begin the count, — must prevail over all the remedial powers of the State of Florida and of the Congress of the United States combined, and must dispose of the chief magistracy of this Republic.

S.J. Tilden.

Tilden appeared before a select committee of Congress on February 9, 1879, to legally clarify his position. Of the publications relating to South Carolina on October 1, 1878, and those relating to Florida on the October 8, 1878, he said:

I read those translations; I did not recognize among them a single one that I had ever seen in cipher or translation, or the contents of which had in any way been made known to me. With respect to those of them that relate to negotiations to induce members of the Canvassing Boards of South Carolina and Florida to give the Democratic electors their certificates, I swear positively that I never saw one of those telegrams, either in cipher or translation; the contents of no one of them, nor the purport of any one of them, was communicated to me in any manner whatever.

I had no knowledge, no information, no suspicion that such a correspondence or any similar correspondence, had existed until their publication was announced in the *New York Tribune*, followed by the publication a few days later. No offer, no negotiation in behalf of any member of the Returning Board of South Carolina or of the Board of State Canvassers of Florida, or of any other State, was ever entertained by me or by my authority or with my sanction; no negotiations with them, no dealing with them, no dealing with any one of them was ever authorized or sanctioned by me in any manner whatsoever....

My first information on the subject was ... after the 6th day of December, 1876. Some time after Mr. Marble returned ... he mentioned to me one day, as a bygone affair, that the vote of Florida was offered, or rather the certificates that would yield us the vote; but he said that the offer had been declined. Some time last summer, about the time that the letter of Mr. Marble on the Electoral Commission appeared, I made a remark about the matter — I spoke to Colonel Pelton about this offer from Florida. He answered in a single sentence, that all offers had been declined. That is all the knowledge I had on the subject until the publi-

cation of these dispatches.

To the people who, as I believe, elected me President of the United States, to the four millions and a quarter of citizens who gave me their suffrages, I owed duty, service, and every honorable sacrifice; but not a surrender of one jot or tittle of my sense of right or personal self-respect.

Whatever the disappointment to those who voted for me; whatever the public consequences of suffering a subversion of the elective system, by which alone free government — self-government — can be carried on; by whatever casuistry a different course might have been advocated or defended, — I was resolved that if there was to be an auction of the chief magistracy of my country, I would not be among the bidders.

In his will, Tilden allotted \$4,000,000 of his \$5,000,000 estate to the Tilden Trust, which was to build a free library in New York City. Members of his family contested the will but something over \$2,000,000 was left and did go toward the establishment of the New York Public Library.

On August 4, 1886, Samuel J. Tilden died, a bachelor, the only president-elect who, although winning a majority of the popular vote, was denied the United States Presidency.

# THE NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1878.

## THE OREGON FRAUD

A FULL HISTORY OF THE TILDEN PLOT, HOW THE DEMOCRATIC REFORMER ATTEMPTED TO PURCHASE A MAJORITY IN THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE—THE CIPHER DISPATCHES.

It is not the fault of the Republican newspapers if the most rascally transaction of the last Presidential campaign is once more a topic of universal discussion. The extraordinary publication by Mr. Manton Marble has compelled us to look again at the conduct of the two candidates during the critical weeks after the election of November, 1876; and the claims of superior virtue, patriotism, and steadfastness which have been put forth on behalf of Mr. Tilden require a new examination of a scandal which for the credit of the nation we might otherwise be glad to bury in forgetfulness. "It is anybody's secret," said Mr. Marble, "that throughout the month while this groundwork and primary part of the conspiracy was heaping up and cementing in debauchment and dishonor the certificates of three State Canvassing Boards were for sale. ... Any one of the venal crew acting separately could himself alone deliver what he deemed a conclusive title to the Presidency. But it was not there and thus that Mr. Tilden sought to compass the defeat of the Republican conspiracy. ... I apologize to Governor Tilden for confronting his character with the morally impossible."

Now, considering the fact that it proved and tacitly admitted that Governor Tilden, or his next friends and one of his near relatives acting for him, did seek to compass the defeat of the Republican party in this very way; that he, or his agents, did undertake to buy "a conclusive title to the Presidency" from an elector not in one of the disputed States, which would have been bad enough, but in a confessedly Republican State, which would have been worse; that the price was fixed, after much higgling, and the money actually raised, and deposited with a stake-holder, the impudence of Mr. Marble's language seems to tower into the sublime. The Oregon story is so good an illustration of the insincerity of Democratic pro-

fessions and the rascality of Democratic practices that it is well worth while to repeat it. We have gone through the whole of the vast pile of telegrams relating to this matter—some hundreds in all—and have translated a number of cipher messages which have never before been explained, besides correcting several others which have been imperfectly interpreted. Here then is the whole narrative, told for the first time by the dispatches themselves in their proper arrangement. The key that unlocks nearly all the messages in cipher is the "Little Dictionary," which seems to have been used all through the Oregon business, except in one or two instances that will be noted as they occur. Other systems were used in correspondence with the Southern States. Many of the telegrams, however, were in plain English.

It was certain from the start that Oregon had been carried for Hayes. On November 9, two days after the election, Governor Grover telegraphed to *The Herald* of this city, *The Times* of Philadelphia, and a number of persons in California and elsewhere, in almost identical words, "Oregon has gone for Hayes by over 400." To one J. Teal in San Francisco he telegraphed: "Oregon certain for Hayes and Dick Williams." Mr. Pelton sent word to A. Nolter, editor of a Democratic paper in Portland, that Tilden was nevertheless elected; but trouble soon began to appear, as the following dispatches show:

### I.

San Fran., Nov. 9.

To Governor Grover, Salem:

Tilden's election depends upon Oregon. Answer without delay.  
Joseph Teal.

### II.

N.Y., Nov. 9.

To Governor Grover, Salem:

Send us report of your State. Result of election may depend on your vote. Abram S. Hewitt.

## III.

Salem, Or., Nov. 9.

To A.S. Hewitt, N.Y.:

Oregon Republican by 400. Give us first decisive result. L.F. Grover.

## IV.

Salem, Nov. 9.

To A.S. Hewitt, New-York:

Inform me immediately number electoral votes Tilden has, and prospects. L.F. Grover.

## V.

Salem, Nov. 10.

To W. T. Pelton, New-York:

Telegraph the first news making Tilden's election certain; anxiously awaiting. L.F. Grover.

And then followed this curiously ingenuous but suggestive message, to which there was no signature:

## VI.

New-York, Nov. 10.

To Hon. A.J. Bryant, Mayor, San Francisco:

Caution Governor Oregon immediately not to express any opinion as to results in that State; it is evidently very close.

How cautious the Governor thereupon became not to express any opinion we may judge from the following, which, under the circumstances, appears rather funny.

## VII.

St. Louis, Nov. 13.

To Governor Grover, Salem:

Do send something definite immediately.

Senator Boggs.  
S. Hutchins.

The plan for the creation of the Cronin electoral college was developed in a dispatch from Mr. Hewitt to Governor Grover on the 15th, although it is only just to Mr. Hewitt to say that there is not a word in all these documents to indicate that he suspected the rascally operations of other supporters of Mr. Tilden by which that very shaky "college" was to be propped up. Senator Kelly, who had started for the East, was requested

by telegraph to go back to Oregon to attend to business of importance, and it appears that he was promptly made aware of the purposes of the New-York managers.

## VIII.

New-York, Nov. 15.

To W. H. Effinger, Portland:

Matters have been under consultation here; conclusions have been telegraphed to Senator Kelly and your Governor. Consult them.

S.S. Cox.

## IX.

Portland, Nov. 16.

To Governor Grover, Salem:

We want to see you, particularly on account of dispatches from the East.

J.H. Reed,  
W.W. Thayer,  
W. Strong,  
C.B. Bellinger,  
E.C. Brunaugh.

"Duke Gwin" was deeply concerned in the enterprise, and a message addressed to him shows that the careful and somewhat parsimonious method of engaging agents, which gave so much trouble later, was already in vogue at Gramercy Park:

## X.

Red Bluff, Cal., Nov. 16.

Hon. Wm. M. Gwin, N.Y.:

Retainer not certain. Prospective compensation ample. Prospect for success excellent.

A.H. Rose.

Dr. George L. Miller, of Omaha, who seems to have been in specially confidential relations with the Tilden party, was requested by Colonel Pelton to go to Oregon, and complete the arrangements with Senator Kelly and the Governor, but as he was already engaged in a "still hunt" elsewhere, he sent some one else.

## XI.

Omaha, Nov. 19.

To W.T. Pelton:

Can't wait. Can reach destination Saturday morning. Will this be in time? Answer instantly.  
Geo. L. Miller.

## XII.

New-York, Nov. 19.

To Dr. Geo. L. Miller, Omaha:

Yes, go yourself. Will write you at Salem, also telegraph.  
W.T.P.

## XIII.

Omaha, Nov. 19.

To W.T. Pelton, Gramercy Park:

Will send better man first train, 11:45 a.m., to a telegraph office.  
Geo. L. Miller.

## XIV.

Omaha, Nov. 19.

To W.T. Pelton, Gramercy Park:

My going out of question. Man gone with authority to open letters and telegrams at Salem. Trust me for outcome.  
Geo. L. Miller.

## XV.

Omaha, Nov. 24.

To Governor Grover, Salem:

Man left Omaha Sunday to see you; will arrive Monday; delay action.  
Geo L. Miller.

## XVI.

Salem, Nov. 25.

To H. J.K. Kelly:

Am two days behind you. Meet me at earliest moment.  
H.S. Brown.

## XVII.

Roseburg, Nov. 27.

To Hon. J.K. Kelly, Salem:

Meet me on to-morrow's train if possible.  
H.S. Brown.

The movements of Messrs. Kelly and Grover naturally excited suspicion among the Republicans, and they were carefully watched:

## XVIII.

Portland, Nov. 23, '76  
11:30 a.m.

To Max Muller, Jacksonville:

Kelly leaves Yreka to-day. Watch him closely. Object in returning supposed bad.  
Steel.

## XIX.

Portland, Or., Nov. 24, '76.

To Charles De Young &amp; Co., San Fr.:

Governor Grover and two of his confidential advisers returned to Salem this evening. Senator Kelly is expected here to-morrow, and gives as a reason for returning to the State that he comes on railroad business, but all agree that it is on

business connected with the Oregon electoral vote....  
W.G. Steel.

Here Mr. Manton Marble appears on the scene:

## XX.

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 27.

To Hon. Lafayette Grover, Portland, Or., or elsewhere:

It is respectfully suggested that you refrain from the issue of any certificate in favor of an elector alleged to have been chosen November 7, who on that day was ineligible to that office, and until you shall have been advised thereon. Reply at my expense, if you are unable to do this.

Manton Marble.

## XXI.

Salem, Nov. 28.

To Manton Marble, Tallahassee:

The subject is under careful examination.  
Lafayette Grover.

The agent chosen for the management of the pecuniary part of the affair was Mr. J.N.H. Patrick, the same who was concerned in certain delicate transactions connected with the Emma Mine; and it is an interesting fact that no sooner does he enter upon his duties than the Tilden men at the East begin to talk business. Here is a message from a gentleman whose name we shall meet with afterward in connection with the putting up of the money:

## XXII.

New-York, Nov. 27.

To J.N.H. Patrick:

*Secure your point at all hazards. Communicate with me immediately, giving prospects.*

Davis.

Mr. Patrick lost no time in establishing the code of cipher which played so large a part in the crisis of the negotiations:

## XXIII.

Portland, Nov. 28.

To Erwin Davis, St. Nicholas, New-York:

Have cipher P. see him.

## XXIV.

San Fran., Nov. 28.

To Hon. H.S. Brown:

Have you heard some more talk on streets tiger progress.  
H.G. Rollins.

Mr. Patrick's first use of the cipher stated the conditions of the bargain he had concluded with almost brutal frankness. This is one of the dispatches which have become famous:

## XXV.

To W.T. Pelton, New-York:

By vizier association innocuous to negligence cunning minutely previously readmit doltish to purchase afar act with cunning afar sacristy nu-weighted afar pointer tigress cuttle superannuated syllabus dilatoriness misapprehension contraband Kountze bisculous top usher spiniferous. Answer.

J.N.H. Patrick.

I fully indorse this.

James K. Kelly.

[Translation.]

Certificate will be issued to one Democrat. *Must purchase Republican elector to recognize and act with Democrat and secure vote and prevent trouble. Deposit ten thousand dollars my credit Kountze Brothers, 12 Wall-st.* Answer.

J.N.H. Patrick.

I fully indorse this.

James K. Kelly.

Mr. Pelton was unwilling to pay in advance, but otherwise the agreement seems to have met his cordial approval:

## XXVI.

N.Y., Nov. 29.

To J.N.H. Patrick, Portland:

Moral hasty sideral vizier gobble cramp by hemistic welcome licentiate musketeer compassion neglectful recoverable hothouse live innovator brackish association dine afar idolater session hemistic mitre.

[Translation.]

No. How soon will Governor decide certificate? *If you make obligation contingent on result in March it can be done, and incremable slightly if necessary.*

In this dilemma Patrick applied to Dr. Miller for the use of his influence in persuading Pelton to pay cash promptly. Miller seems to have used a different cipher from that employed between Oregon and New-York, and we have not found the key to it. The meaning of No. XXVII, however, is plain enough, from XXVIII.:

## XXVII.

Portland, Nov. 29.

To Dr. George L. Miller, Omaha:

Telegraph Pelton, Mordant dispensative washing horrid arabesque promptly what news. P.

## XXVIII.

Omaha, Neb., Nov. 29, '76.

To W.T. Pelton, Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

*Do whatever our friend asks promptly. On a still hunt in Nebraska, which you will hear from.*

Geo. L. Miller.

Patrick, in the meantime, sent the following answer to Colonel Pelton's inquiry, and reiterated his demand for cash in advance:

## XXIX.

Portland, Nov. 30.

W.T. Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, New-York:

Gobble achromatic reject waggle refrangible vizier innocuous by tit swing a sacerdotal readmit sympathize hemistic by innocuous taster hepatic cunning cazique afar extancy uninvited thus crimps action of gobble negligence doltish minutely association o'er taster purchase cunning taster sacrist license graduation drive sympathy disunite nail readmit operatic march jaundiced excitable sympathy syllabus vizier subservient eye-service syllabus nor readmit doltish minutely proposal medicine brazen licentiate excitable compassion retaliation ridicule. Kelly and Bellinger vizier act cipher suscite minutely act prayer-book.

[Translation.]

Governor all right without reward. Will issue certificate Tuesday. This is a secret. Republicans threaten, if certificate issued, to ignore Democratic claim and fill vacancy, thus defeat action of Governor. *One elector must be paid to recognize Democrat to secure majority.* Have employed three [lawyers] Editor only Republican paper as one lawyer; fee \$3,000. *Will take \$5,000 for Republican elector.* Must raise money; can't make fee contingent. Sail Saturday. Kelly and Bellinger will act. Cipher them. Must act promptly.

And then comes the following correspondence between Patrick and Miller, which would no doubt be edifying and amusing if we had the translation:

## XXX.

Omaha, Dec. 1.

To J.N.H. Patrick, Portland:

Your remarkable after-piece retard hair-breadth salary adaptability sear and see that he succeeds worshipper inordant [?] neighborly expressions wife just here.  
Geo. L. Miller.

XXXI.

Dec. 1—7:25 p.m.

To Dr. Geo. L. Miller, Omaha:

After-piece seedy. Can't. Expensive. Can do nothing more. Sail steamer Elder morning. P.

Governor Grover promptly confirmed the statement of Mr. Patrick by his notorious cipher dispatch to Mr. Tilden:

XXXII.

Portland, Or., Dec. 1.

To Samuel J. Tilden, 15 Gramercy Park, New-York:

Heed scantiness cramp energy peroration hot-house survivor browze of pia mater doltish hot-house exactness of survivor highest cunning doltish afar galvanic survivor by accordingly neglectful merciless of senator incongruent coalesce.  
Gobble.

[Translation.]

I shall decide every point in the case of post office elector in favor of the highest Democratic elector, and grant the certificate accordingly on morning of the 6th instant. Confidential.

Governor.

But still Pelton held the purse half-shut, because Governor Tilden—as Mr. Marble truly remarks—"would not raffle for the Presidency," though he was willing to pay a reasonable price, "incredible slightly," if the obligation could be made contingent on the result in March:

XXXIII.

New-York, Dec. 1.

To J.N.H. Patrick, Portland:

Brazen welcome sanative sisterhood magnanimity afar compound juggler bombardment tit afar dolorous doltish mitre enow watch association o'er sagittarius portal notice sojourn summons welcome commissary gabble afar sanable aggregate.

[Translation.]

Can't you send special messenger and convene Legislature by Tuesday, and elect elector neces-

sary? Expense would be paid. See proclamation other States. Telegraph yourself; consult Governor and Senator. Answer.

The next two dispatches have not been published before. They are important because they utterly refute the pretence of some of Mr. Tilden's adherents that these first proposals of Patrick's were rejected at Gramercy Park, and that the money afterwards sent to Oregon was intended only for legitimate legal expenses. It will be seen that Patrick fully explained what the funds were needed for, and we need hardly ask the reader to remark the precision with which Colonel Pelton lays down the conditions upon which it is to be paid:

XXXIV.

Portland, Dec. 1.

To W.T. Pelton, Gramercy Park:

Moveless tamarind taster compound juggler brackish limation with filth syllabus at pliers minutely graduation innovator medicament buzzards graduation Charles Dimon 115 Liberty-street summons innovator taster boatman argosy Salem swing vizier sacriat cunning unweighed achromatic ambiguously at warm grout brazen erratic. Can do no more. Sail morning. Answer Kelly in cipher.

[Translation.]

Not time to convene Legislature. *Can manage with four thousand at present. Must have it Monday certain.* Have Charles Dimon, 115 Liberty-street, telegraph it to Bush, banker, Salem. *This will secure Democratic vote.* All are at work here. Can't fail. Can do no more. Sail morning. Answer Kelly in cipher.

XXXV.

New-York, Dec. 2, 1876—8:30 a.m.

To J.N.H. Patrick, Portland:

Cuttle doctrinal for consecratory excitable anarch definable sweep abhorred welcome at welken ball. Trentals movables taster associating unhorsed twinkle sweep book oats amphibolous purchase cunning doltish afar dispirit figulate his unweighed taster unrestrained plumons.

[Translation.]

Deposit[ed?] eight for counsel fee as directed. They advised you at your home. *Understand not to be used unless they carry out arrangement, recognize Democratic elector and duly forward his vote to Vice President.*

While this correspondence was going on, Mr. Bush, the Salem banker, sent the following, in which there are two unintelligible ciphers:

XXXVI.

Salem, Dec. 2—11:50 a.m.

To C.E. Tilton, 115 Liberty-st., New York:

Sabre conn [?]. *Can myriad [ten thousand] be had for subject matter* if needed? A. Bush.

The answer was long in coming:

XXXVII.

New-York, Dec. 6.

To A. Bush, Salem:

Could do nothing, [word intelligible] and if you want "look" [material] telegraph. C.E. Tilton.

The fact is Colonel Pelton procrastinated too long. Mr. Patrick left Portland in the morning, as he said he should do, and when the "eight for counsel fee" (save the mark!) was transferred by telegraph to his bankers in Salem, he was already on the way to San Francisco, and the money could not be drawn. Mr. Pelton seems to have been somewhat uneasy at getting no acknowledgment, so he telegraphed again the same day:

XXXVIII.

New-York, Dec. 2.

To J.N.H. Patrick.

Brazen trentals sail morning hothouse irritate welcome scrub radicate valuation amphibolous summons irritate monkey rider unhorse nauseous veto inmost model sanative welkin summoner taster intervert Everett harshly.

[Translation.]

Can't understand "sail morning" in your last. You should remain. *Was arrangement telegraphed last night satisfactory?* Use official [ly?] what is needful. Send your telegram to [intervert] Everett House. W.

Still getting no answer, Pelton telegraphed to Senator Kelly:

XXXIX.

New-York, Dec. 2—4:45 p.m.

To Hon. J.K. Kelly:

Summons P irritate monkey afar tautology

graduation moral ratiocination has be joy aggregate.

[Translation.]

Telegraphed P. last night and to-day. Have no reply. Has he left? Answer.

Senator Kelly's reply showed the state of the case:

XL.

Portland, Dec. 2—5:35 p.m.

Hoop taster compound juggler joy attenuate summoner amplitude brazen discontent survivor doctrinal cuttle Charles Dimon 115 Liberty-st. taster niveous Bush & Ladd Salem minutegun — graduation innovator medicament brazen trentals intervert Everett harshly irritate welkin summoner. K for P.

[Translation.]

Impossible to convene Legislature. P left before telegram arrived. Can't draw the eight. Deposit Charles Dimon, 115 Liberty-st., to order Bush & Ladd, Salem. Must have it Monday. Can't understand "intervert Everett harshly" —last your telegram.

In the next, from Pelton to Kelly, five words are unintelligible, the cipher having probably been bungled in transmission:

XLI.

New-York, Dec. 2, 1876.

Received at San Francisco, 2d, 12:10 a.m.

To Hon. Jas. K. Kelly, Portland:

Summons grouse P's definable of well featherbed empire avaunt brazen calender innovator grouse mowing vibration vizard P psalmody daw veto scantiness association dine aggregate.

[Translation.]

Telegraph here P's direction ... Can't change it here now. When will P reach destination. What shall be done. Answer.

XLII.

Portland, Dec. 3.

To W.T. Pelton:

P vizier association at Grand Hotel San Francisco medicament association Salt Lake City sympathy countless swallow graduation taster bedaub medicine neglectful misapprehension immixable recollection inextinguishable welcome brackish

ratan innovator.

K.

[Translation.]

P will be at Grand Hotel, San Francisco, Monday; be at Salt Lake City three days thereafter. Have to borrow money on my individual responsibility in trust you can replace it.

XLIII.

New-York, Dec. 3.

To Hon. Jas. K. Kelly:

Summons grouse fuddle accession welcome scantiness association quintessence different moveable erratic achromatic honeymoon abhor pounce.

[Translation.]

Telegraph here. Go ahead. You shall be reimbursed. *Do not fail. All important.* Advise progress.

Then Colonel Pelton hurried to get at Patrick in San Francisco:

XLIV.

New-York, Dec. 4, 1876.

To J.N.H. Patrick, Grand Hotel, San Francisco:

*Matters fixed here just as you first directed. Communicate with your friends there so they can act promptly. Answer.*

And Patrick replied next day:

XLV.

Dec. 5.

To W.T. Pelton:

Just arrived 9 p.m. Have communicated. P.

At the same time he sent the following to Senator Kelly, who remained at the capital of Oregon, vainly trying to get the money:

XLVI.

San Francisco, Dec. 5.

To J.K. Kelly, Salem:

Headquarters telegraph me my request granted as first asked. Will make transfer to you to-morrow. *Will programme be carried out?* Answer.

Patrick.

XLVII.

San Francisco, Dec. 5.

To Kountze Bros., 12 Wall-st., N.Y.:

Has my account credit by any funds lately? How much?

J.N.H. Patrick.

XLVIII.

New-York, Dec. 6.

To J.N.H. Patrick, San Fran.:

Davis deposited \$8,000 December 1st.

Kountze Brothers.

XLIX.

San Francisco, Dec. 6.

To J.K. Kelly, Salem:

Why don't you answer?

J.N.H. Patrick.

Senator Kelly apparently did not answer because he was still unable to get the cash, which the blunder of Pelton, or Patrick, or both, had placed where it could do no good. And now it was only the day before the meeting of the electoral college. Extraordinary exertions seem to have been made on all hands to repair the fault before it was too late. The following message was sent to the Salem bankers:

L.

San Francisco, Dec. 5.

Received Salem, 6th, 10 a.m.

To Messrs. Ladd & Bush:

The funds from New-York will be deposited your credit here to-morrow when bank opens. I know it. Act accordingly.

W.C. Griswold.

This message, it will be seen, did not reach Salem till the morning of the meeting of the electoral college, when it was probably too late. Messrs. Ladd & Bush appear to have been too prudent to pay out money in any irregular way, and, late in the afternoon of the 5th, the following unsigned dispatch, doubtless from Senator Kelly, was placed on the wires:

LI.

Salem, Dec. 5—4 p.m.

To W.T. Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park:

Brazen welcome cuttle survivor doctrinal Charles Dimon squab taster niveous Lad & Bush Salem brazen fracture medicine grout minute-gun graduation innovator venom summons loweringly Salem Vier vizard moveless erratic.

[Translation.]

Can't you deposit the eight Charles Dimon subject to order Ladd & Bush Salem? Can't get

money here. *Must have it Wednesday.* Telegraph me Salem. vier [?] *will not fail.*

On the morning of the 6th, the deposit seems to have been at last arranged:

LII.

New-York, Dec. 6.  
Received Salem 6th, 2:40 p.m.

Ladd & Bush:

Unable to find Charles Dimon at his office. We hold certificate check payable to your order for eight thousand dollars on Bank of North America subject to your instructions.

Martin & Runyon,  
40 Wall-street.

LIII.

New-York, Dec. 6.

To Ladd & Bush, Salem:

Martin & Runyon have deposited medicine dollars for your account. Charles Dimon.

LIV.

San Francisco, Dec. 6.

To Ladd & Bush, Salem:

Emperor Griswold pandora permanent perfume gold. London & S.F. Bank.

This is doubtless the private cipher of the bank, but a translation of it is easily found in the next telegram:

LV.

San Francisco, Dec. 6.

To Ladd & Bush, Salem:

Deposited \$7,380 to your bank. G.

This amount was the equivalent in gold of the \$8,000 currency. It was supposed that everything was now fixed, so that the "programme" could "be carried out," and the "coparceners" telegraphed to Mr. Kelly, as we may well imagine, in some excitement. The first dispatch is doubtless from Mr. Patrick:

LVI.

San Francisco, Dec. 6.

To J.K. Kelly, Salem:

Survivor doctrinal cuttled merciless justification mortal sulphury pointer vomitive unhorse welkin demit.

[Translation.]

The eight deposited morning. *Let no technicality prevent winning.* Use your discretion.

LVII.

Dec. 6.

To C.B. Bellinger, Salem:

See Bush. Tell Kelly telegraph result Grand Hotel. Answer. P.

And we risk little in assuming that the following unsigned cipher, never before published, is from the estimable Colonel Pelton, who rose betimes that with the sun he might his course of duty run:

LVIII.

New-York, Dec. 6—8:35 a.m.

To James K. Kelly:

Inmost welkin lorimer buzzard swain minutely association moral mathematics achromatic carpeted neglectful welcome peerage moral rackrent neglectful alb exaggeration rationale flatulent sympathy simpleton sonneteer aggregate profound.

[Translation.]

*Is your matter certain. There must be no mistake. All depends on you.* Place no reliance on any favorable report from three Southern States. Answer quick.

It is not our part to tell again at present the melancholy end of all these complotings. How the scheme fell through at the very last moment, all in consequence of the money not being in hand until it was too late, has been written before. Colonel Pelton disappears from the correspondence with the following lachrymose dispatch:

LIX.

New-York, Dec. 8.

To J.K. Kelly, Salem:

Summons decisive taster redoubted survivor taster ostiary sursolid joy innovator aggregate. (Forwarded from Salem.)

[Translation.]

Telegraph Dimon to return the —to party that left it. Answer.

To which we shall only add two undeciphered telegrams which passed when all was over, between Mr. C.B. Bellinger and Henry Klippel, one

of the candidates on the Democratic electoral ticket:

LX.

Jacksonville, Dec. 15:

To C.B. Bellinger, Salem:

Melodramatic strap carp who opal seafarer habilliment unquestionable half-pay air-hole.

H. Klippel.

LXI.

Salem, Dec. 15.

To Henry Klippel:

Horrid disappointment trunk nig thought inducement [characters illegible] afterpiece strap.

Bellinger.

# THE NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE

MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1878.

## THE CAPTURED CIPHER TELEGRAMS.

### A FULL DESCRIPTION OF THE SYSTEM AND A HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATION.

HOW THE CIPHERS WERE MADE—HOW THEY WERE FOUND OUT.

THE KEYS TO THE INTERPRETATION—A VOCABULARY OF COPARCENY.

The extraordinary ciphers devised by the Democratic managers of the electoral campaign which came after the election in 1876 are described in full below, and, together with an account of the manner in which they were made, we present a detailed history of the process by which they have been interpreted. There are no fewer than six distinct systems of cryptography in this collection of secret telegrams—perhaps even more—but one system predominates so greatly over the others that to it we shall devote nearly all the space we can spare this morning for the exposition. The others we may perhaps discuss briefly when we print the dispatches that belong to them. We invite the public to witness every step in the process of this deciphering, partly because it is an interesting intellectual exercise, and a salutary reminder that the best laid plans of rogues and plotters are always in danger of detection, and partly because we wish to show that the reading we offer has been arrived at by no happy guessing, but by a course of sheer demonstration. The accuracy of the keys which we have found for the substantial part of this elaborate puzzle is attested with all the certainty of an absolute mathematical proof.

### THE TILDEN CIPHERS.

#### SCOPE OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.

The captured political correspondence, now in the possession of *The Tribune*, covers the period between the Presidential election in November, 1876, and the completion of the count in all the disputed States, early in the following month. It comprises:

1. Telegrams between the Democratic managers in New-York and their agents in California and Oregon, relative to the granting of a certificate to one of the Democratic electors who was not elected, and the "purchase of a Republican elector to recognize and act with him."
2. Telegrams between the Democratic managers in New-York and their friends and secret agents in Florida during the progress of the count.
3. Telegrams between these New-York managers and their friends and secret agents in Louisiana during the same critical period.
4. Telegrams between these New-York managers and their friends and secret agents in South Carolina during the operations of the Canvassing

Board at Columbia, and the argument before the State Supreme Court, by whose interference Mr. Tilden's representatives hoped to control the action of the Board.

5. Various dispatches between local Democratic politicians in Florida and South Carolina, including the series of telegrams on the subject of an armed opposition to Chamberlain's inauguration, already published by *The Tribune* under the title of "Fun at the Fair."

The whole number of these captured dispatches is not far from 400. About half of them are in plain English, the rest in cipher. The plain telegrams of course are not usually of a compromising character, except so far as they refer indirectly to transactions which are explained in other parts of the correspondence. Many of them, however, are amusing, and many are useful in throwing light upon the dark ways and vain tricks concealed in the cryptographic communications. It is these last which constitute by far the most important of the telegrams. We have devoted long and close study to them, and have at last mastered the systems upon which they were constructed, and ob-

tained the keys which unlock their meaning. The public will undoubtedly agree with us in thinking that the labor expended on this work has not been wasted.

### THE CIPHER SYSTEMS.

The ciphers employed were of several kinds. The Oregon correspondence was conducted by what is generally called the "Dictionary Cipher." Here the first word of the message to be sent was sought in a dictionary previously agreed upon; the writer then turned back four pages (of course any number of pages might have been chosen, but in this case it was four), and picking out the word which occupied a corresponding position on the fourth page, wrote that as the cipher. The process was then repeated for the next word, and so on to the end: and the receiver retranslated the document into plain English by reversing the operation in his copy of the dictionary. It happened that the "Little Dictionary" used by Pelton and Patrick had been employed before in the same way, in the course of business transactions at the West, and somebody who knew the cipher explained it as soon as the "Gobble" dispatch got into print. Several of the incriminating messages were thus deciphered as long ago as 1877; and when The Tribune obtained possession of the entire correspondence, the translations were completed and a full and consecutive narrative of the Oregon affair was given to the public. (See *The Tribune*, September 4, 1878.) But in the Southern correspondence the conspirators at Gramercy Park employed ciphers of a very different sort, and of these accident unfortunately failed to give us the key. It is true that the "Dictionary Cipher" appeared now and then in Florida and South Carolina, but the dictionary selected was evidently not the same that served in Oregon, and there was no clew to the rule by which the book, whatever it may have been, was to be used. Another system of cryptograms, of which we find comparatively few examples, was devised by substituting numbers for all the most significant, or, as we might say, all the "tell-tale" words in a dispatch; for instance:

Tallahassee, Dec. 1.

To Henry Havemeyer, New York:

Sixteen fetch may make thirteen forty of half of  
a twelve eleven ten can you say two in nine im-  
mediately if twenty.

Fox.

Some messages contained numbers and nothing else. The local politicians occasionally corresponded in that simplest and most futile of all cryptograms, which consists merely in the substi-

tution of one letter for another; and there were others systems of which we shall have something to say as the course of our narrative brings them into view.

### THE DOUBLE CIPHER.

For a very large majority, however, of all the Southern secret dispatches there was one system of double cipher, unvarying in its principle, though changing often in its details and mode of application; and a little examination of the pile of telegrams sufficed to convince us that with the key to this in our hands we should have little difficulty in getting at the most serious of the operations of the Democrats in two if not three of the disputed States. The system consisted of a cipher within a cipher. First, arbitrary ciphers—generally geographical proper names—were substituted for all tell-tale words and expressions. We never find, for instance, "Democrat" or "Radical," "Hayes" or "Tilden," "Returning Board" or "Elector," "Governor" or "President;" we rarely or never meet with numbers; seldom (during the most critical days of the count) with the name of any State. Secondly, these substitutions having been made, the message was broken up and dislocated, the words being taken out of their proper order, and arranged as if they had been shaken in a bag, drawn out at random, and set down as chance dictated. Here is the beginning of a long dispatch that has been treated in the way described:

Have Rhine river as is of follows Edinburgh  
river Mississippi been of Rhine Copenhagen river  
Rhine Syracuse parcel to secured Danube Potomac  
river sent Chicago London Edinburgh be river of.

It might be supposed that the dislocated words could always be put together again by the exercise of a little ingenuity and patience; but anybody may try the experiment—for example, with the lines quoted above (which are complete in sense so far as they go, though they are only a fragment of a dispatch)—will see that the task is by no means a light one. When the meaning of all words is understood, it will generally be found that a transposed dispatch can be rearranged in a variety of ways, all making good sense and good grammar, but all disagreeing hopelessly in significance; and when the perplexity is increased by the introduction of a number of blind words, of which we do not even know whether they are nouns, or verbs, or adjectives, the attempt to reconstruct the sentences without the aid of a key is almost hopeless. And yet the proper sequence of all the words *must* be ascertained before we make even an intelligent guess at the meaning of any considerable

number of the blind words. The double cipher is, therefore, one of the most difficult cryptograms ever devised, and it is not surprising that the Democratic politicians whose operations it covers should have flattered themselves with the assurance that *The Tribune* could never discover the interpretation. But almost any cipher, however intricate and ingenuous, can be read if the translator[s] have a sufficient number of specimens to work with; and there was certainly no lack of material in this case.

#### DISCOVERY OF THE FIRST KEY.

The beginning of the discovery was a fortunate guess at the meaning of one of the blind words. A substitution-cipher that occurs with notable frequency is "Warsaw." It is found in almost all the longer dispatches; once it stands alone, as a message by itself; occasionally we find it taking inflections, as "Warsawed." The conjecture immediately presented itself that it signified either "telegraph" or "answer"; but as the latter word is used without disguise in some of the same messages which contain "Warsaw," the other alternative was assumed to be the right one—an assumption which later discoveries speedily confirmed, "Warsaw" proving to be the equivalent of both "telegraph" and "telegram." Accepting this definition as correct, the following dispatch of ten words was read so easily that it might almost be said to rearrange itself at first sight:

[Cipher.]

Columbia, Nov. 14, 1876.

To Henry Havemeyer, New-York:

Warsaw they read all unchanged last are idiots  
can't situation. W.

[Translation.]

Can't read last telegram. Situation unchanged.  
They are all idiots.

The words in this dispatch are transposed according to the following order: 9, 3, 6, 1, 10, 5, 2, 7, 4, 8. Or, to make the matter plainer, let us number the words of the cipher, and illustrate the process of transposition:

[Cipher.]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Warsaw	they	read	all	unchanged	last	are	idiots
9	10						
can't	situation.						

To make the translation, according to the key given above, the 9th word of the cipher must come first, the 3d next, and then must follow in

order the 6th, 1st, 10th, 5th, 2d, 7th, 4th, and 8th. We tried the same sequence on other dispatches. It fitted none until we came to a second message of exactly ten words, as follows:

[Cipher.]

Me with you Anna communication put Weed  
Charles can in. S.

This yielded to the same key of transposition, and the words being rearranged according to the sequence already given, stood thus:

[Translation.]

Can you put me in communication with Weed?  
Anna Charles.

The meaning of "Anna Charles" was still dark, but there could be no reasonable doubt that the right sequence of words had been found, and this conviction was strengthened when a third 10-word message yielded readily to the same key. But there were very few of these short messages in the bundle, and the sequence that applied to them would not fit any part of a longer dispatch. Evidently there was more than one key. But how did the person who received the cipher message know what key to use in translating it?

#### THE TRANSPOSITION SYSTEM.

The inquiry had reached this point when the curious circumstance was noticed that the number of words in every transposition telegram was a multiple of five. We say in every telegram, for this was the strict general rule, though a few exceptions to it will be noticed later. The shortest message consisted of 10 words; then there were two or three of 15 words; there were many of 20, of 25, of 30, of 40, of 50 words, and they ran up into the hundreds, always preceded by fives. This could not be accidental; and the suggestion naturally arose that there was a connection between the regularity of these blocks of numbers and the system of transposing them, so that the length of the dispatch was the clew which guided the person who received it in the selection of numbers for a 10-word message, and another for a message of 15 words, and another for a message of 20, and so on, it would only be necessary for the receiver to count the words in the telegram in order to know upon which of several prearranged sequences it had been constructed. This theory was at once tested by a group of 30-word telegrams. Five messages of that length were selected, written out in parallel columns, one word under another, and every word numbered, thus:

No. of word	First disp.	Second disp.	Third disp.	Fourth disp.	Fifth disp.
1	Me	Very	Figure	To	Rochester
2	you	news	France	situation	of
3	do	say	capture	prospects	answer
4	to	Copenhagen	and	and	America
5	did	to	over	Africa	yesterday
6	to	from	what	desperate	to-day
7	question	can	see	intend	understands
8	when	Florida	answer	Thames	Thomas
9	you	you	Europe	soon	my
10	you	count	Moselle	Europe	Africa
11	to	much	Russia	report	about
12	morning	in	shall	every	but
13	asked	be	little	mischief	it
14	want	give	and	the	first
15	where	what	appearance	Warsaw	avail
16	go	Louisiana	about	in	at
17	supposed	am	best	dispatch	my
18	this	placed	hope	in	nothing
19	until	if	Glasgow	acting	Bavaria
20	come	mixed	will	this	as
21	to-night	insure	up	will	will
22	important	London	keep	state	Copenhagen
23	and	Oregon	Oregon	all	once
24	answer	few	America	concert	fear
25	here	intend	be	morning	reported
26	Warsawed	things	can	parties	small
27	adjourned	out	Potomac	France	by
28	to-morrow	a	behind	in	and
29	London	us	Edinburgh	and	satisfied
30	you.	here.	I.	received.	hope.

The problem now was to find an arrangement of all five columns equally. It would not have been difficult perhaps to contrive a conjectural reading of the first column, for that contained only one unknown word; but the interpretation would have been no better than a guess unless the other four dispatches confirmed it. The only systematic method of deciphering was to fit together little groups of words, trying every rational combination of two or three, and verifying the experiment by comparison with the corresponding words in the parallel columns. Almost always a few words can be found which seek each other's companionship obviously and naturally. These we may call "guide-words." In the first column for instance we have the word "adjourned" (27.) We know, by the date of the dispatch, (Columbia, November 13), that the man who wrote it was anxiously watching the proceedings of the South Carolina Board of State Can-

vassers, and the inference is clear that the only adjournment he would be likely to telegraph about was the adjournment of the Canvassing Board. We find no open mention of the Board in his telegram, but there is the substitution-cipher "London," which is used with great frequency all through the correspondence; if that means Canvassing Board, it will make a good nominative to "adjourned." Now we also know that the Board did not complete its labors till a week after this date; the adjournment then was not final, but to some particular day, and the day must have been given in the dispatch. "London adjourned until to-morrow" is a reading which not only seems rational, but agrees with the facts as we learn them from an examination of the newspaper files for November, 1876. We have, therefore, the sequence 29, 27, 19, 28, which makes good sense in the first column. In the second, it produces this arrangement of words "us out if a;" in the third and fourth it yields a large proportion of blind words which give us little or no help; in the fifth it produces "satisfied by Bavaria and." All these collocations look at least encouraging. the fragment of a sentence, or sentences, which we have obtained from the second column, "us out if a," contains

two clues by which we can extend the sequence in both directions; plainly the word in that column which precedes "us out" is "count" (the 10th word), and the 25th and 5th words, "intend to," are just as clearly the words that lead up to "count." Our fragment now contains seven words, and it ends with the article "a" (28). There are only two words left in the column to which the indefinite article can possibly be applied—"few" (24) and the yet unknown "Copenhagen" (4). A comparison with the parallel words in the fifth column shows that "Copenhagen" will not do, and we take "few." Now the phrase "a few" must be followed by a plural noun, and unless "Copenhagen" stands for a plural noun the only one that remains is "things" (26). There is nothing in the other columns to help us in deciding between them, so we leave the sequence for the present and try some other blocks. We have already got the order, 25, 5, 10, 29, 27, 19, 28, 24,

fitting perfectly in all the columns, so far as they are understood, and we know that the next number is either 4 or 26. Let us look for a guide-word now in one of the other columns. In the 4th column we find "dispatch" (17), and a most natural thing to say about a dispatch is that it has been "received" (30). It is very likely that the message begins with the acknowledgement "Dispatch received" (30). This sequence (17, 30) gives us for the opening words of the other telegrams, (1st) "Supposed you"; (2d) "Am here"; (3d) "Best I," and (5th) "My hope." The verb which seems most appropriately to follow "Best I" is "can" (26), and the same order gives in other columns "My hope small," "supposed you telegraphed," and so on, besides settling our choice between 4 and 26 as the next number in the sequence just left incomplete. In the third column, we are irresistibly tempted to try the arrangement 22, 21, 15, "keep up appearances," and as that fits all the other telegrams, we accept it as correct.

Thus we have disposed of 15 of our 30 words, and the arrangement of the others is comparatively easy, because of course with the elimination of successive groups of numbers the possible permutations of the remainder are very rapidly diminished. We need not carry the explanation of the process any further at present. Enough has been said to show that the formation of the separate blocks of words is not by mere random guessing, but in great part by a strict application of the rules of grammar and attention to known facts; that the succession of words is often not that which *may* be, but that which *must* be; and that whenever we resort to conjecture we verify it by repeated comparisons. Little by little the fragments fall easily into their appropriate places, and as they fit themselves together the hidden meaning shines forth, not simply in one dispatch, but simultaneously in the whole group of dispatches. This, then, is the sequence which we obtained, after repeated experiment and close study, for the set of 30-word messages given above: 17, 30, 26, 1, 11, 20, 25, 5, 10, 29, 27, 19, 28, 24, 4, 7, 13, 18, 12, 22, 21, 15, 3, 9, 14, 2, 6, 16, 23, 8;—that is to say, the seventeenth word of the cipher is the first word of the translated message, the thirtieth word of the cipher is the second word of the message, and so on. But there were many tests still to be applied to the solution. We tried the key thus found on a great many transposition-ciphers, some belonging to the Florida correspondence, others to the South Carolina collection, others to the Louisiana bundle—dispatches written to and from a number of persons. There were some which it did not fit, but it applied so per-

fectly to others, yielding at once an easy and intelligible translation without any forced construction of sentences, that no doubt remained of its strict accuracy. If the sequence had solved only two or three dispatches out of a large number, its application to those two or three might have been called an accident; but when it was found to suit two or three dozen written by different persons at different dates, and sent from different places to different persons, there could be no sort of question that it was a fixed rule. Furthermore, the sequence keys were not discovered by one person alone. Three investigators, working at a distance from each other, upon different bundles of telegrams, and without intercommunication, reached independently the same conclusions. Several of the keys were found by all three simultaneously. And it is worthy of remark that one of these translators got at the result by a very different road from the others. He picked out of a great number of telegrams, without regard to their length, all the blocks of words that could be formed by observing the necessities of grammatical construction, or by considering other indications on the dispatch itself, and it was not until he came to compare the group them that he noticed how the classification depended upon the length of the message.

The system being established, sequences of 15, of 20, and of 25 words were found by the same plan pursued in constructing the longer one.

### REVERSIBLE KEYS.

In the course of this work it began to appear that for some of the groups of numbers, if not for all, there were *two* keys, either of which the correspondent could use at pleasure—the key being probably changed every now and then for the purpose of better concealment; and this explained the exceptional ciphers whose obstinate resistance to the first found keys had puzzled us. Two sequences, both in frequent use, were found for the groups of 15 numbers, of 25, and of 30. Arguing from analogy that the other keys must likewise be double, we made a thorough examination, which resulted, as we anticipated, in our finding a second sequence of 20 numbers, and finally a second of 10. And this led to the interesting and surprising discovery that each of these second or supplementary keys was in a certain sense the complement to another. We can best explain this law by an example. Here is a cipher dispatch of 15 words, belonging to what we will call for convenience the first group; and to make the process clearer we will write and number it vertically:

- 1 want
- 2 Holcomb
- 3 me
- 4 you
- 5 or
- 6 would
- 7 Judge
- 8 if
- 9 Warsaw
- 10 name
- 11 come
- 12 same
- 13 Mathews
- 14 on
- 15 by

The key to the transposition in the group to which this belongs was found by the inductive process already described to be: 8, 4, 1, 7, 13, 5, 2, 6, 11, 14, 9, 3, 15, 12, 10; that is to say, the 8th word of the cipher is the first word of the translation, the 4th word of the cipher is the second word of the translation, and so on; and the translated message accordingly reads:

- 8 If
- 4 you
- 1 want
- 7 Judge
- 13 Mathews
- 5 or
- 2 Holcomb
- 6 would
- 11 come
- 14 on.
- 9 Telegraph
- 3 me
- 15 by
- 12 same
- 10 name.

Now here is a message belonging to what we will call, for the moment, the second 15-word group:

- 1 More
- 2 in
- 3 select
- 4 have
- 5 have
- 6 whom
- 7 some
- 8 you
- 9 you
- 10 in
- 11 confidence
- 12 one

- 13 Winning
- 14 evidently
- 15 than.

And the key to this group was found by the regular process to be: 3, 7, 12, 2, 6, 8, 4, 1, 11, 15, 9, 14, 5, 10, 13. So that, reading the 3d word of the cipher first, the 7th word next, the 12th word next, and so on, we have for the translation:

- 3 select
- 7 some
- 12 one
- 2 in
- 6 whom
- 8 you
- 4 have
- 1 more
- 11 confidence
- 15 than
- 9 you
- 14 evidently
- 5 have
- 10 in
- 13 winning.

The keys to both these groups—to *all* the groups—have been obtained, it will be observed, by numbering the cipher message, and then *writing down the number of the cipher words in the order those words must take when they are transposed to make the translation*. But now suppose we reverse the process. After finding the translation we number the words in that consecutively, and *write down the numbers of the translated words in the order they took in the cipher*. Here is the first 15-word message, numbered in the translation:

- |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1   | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  | 8 |
| If you want, Judge Mathews or Holcomb would |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
| 9   | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |   |
| come on. Telegraph me by same name.         |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |

Now arrange that message as the words stood in the cipher, but with the numbers of the translation attached to them.

- 3 want
- 7 Holcomb
- 12 me
- 2 you
- 6 or
- 8 would
- 4 Judge
- 1 if
- 11 Warsaw
- 15 name

9 come  
14 same  
5 Mathews  
10 on  
13 by

*Which gives exactly the sequence of the second group.* Renumber the translation of the second group in the same way and it gives the sequence already found for the first group. The law holds good with all the other sets of keys. The translation of one cipher always gives a sequence for the construction of a second cipher of the same numerical group; so that perhaps we might say that instead of there being as for some time we supposed ten independent keys, namely, two of 10 numbers, two of 15, two of 20, two of 25, and two of 30, there are really only five keys, each of which can be turned in two ways. If this remarkable arrangement had been discovered earlier it would have saved half the labor of translation. Coming as it does, however, at the end of the work, it is a most convincing proof of the accuracy of the keys we have arranged, since the slightest mistake would have destroyed the operation of the rule. We are not yet prepared to say that as the process of writing out the translation goes on other keys may not be found; but so far the collection appears to be complete. A 35-word key was made, but it proved upon further examination to be only the union of a 15 and a 20; and a 40-word key was nearly finished, early in the investigation, when it was seen to be this same sequence of 20 taken twice.

### COMBINATIONS OF KEYS.

The work was performed at first with short dispatched only. When the longer ones were undertaken, they were found to be all formed upon a combination of two or more of the ten sequences already discovered, or upon the repetition of some one of them. Messages of sixty words, for instance, were instantly deciphered by applying a 30-word key twice. A message of 75 words was read by applying first a sequence of 15 and then using a 30-word key twice. A telegram of 135 words yielded to the following rather complicated formula: 15+25+25+20+25+25+. The precise combination that had been used was of course not always apparent to the receiver, but a few trials with the bunch of keys would generally suffice. Occasionally the message itself gave the necessary directions for its interpretation. A telegram (apparently from Mr. Marble) addressed to Colonel Pelton, begins: "To Tilden. Repeating 25 cipher only;" and several repetitions of a 25-word

sequence do interpret it. Another from the same person—a message of 200 words—begins: "Use four times five cipher," and yields to a 20-word key. Occasionally, however, the receiver was perplexed, and telegraphed back for an explanation. Often it happened in these compound dispatches that a word was dropped, either by a blunder of the telegraph operator, or by pre-concerted arrangement. In that case of course the subsequent words were thrown out of place; but by shifting all the numbers of the sequence one step the broken flow of the interpretation was at once restored. And it is also to be noticed that where this dropping of a word occurs, the dispatch falls short, by one, of the number of words necessary to make it a multiple of five. The sense is often complete without the missing word, but by following the key it is easy to see just where the omission has occurred. These irregularities, therefore, far from invalidating the principle of the key, are on the contrary a strong confirmation of its correctness. They are all traced to the same cause and all corrected by the same means.

Thus by reasoning, by historic illustration, by experiment, and by comparison all combined, The Tribune discovered the principle of the transposition cipher and learned how to apply it. Tried upon an immense variety of messages, never failing in any case, withstanding all conceivable tests of its accuracy, this explanation passes out of the realm of conjecture or probability, and becomes certain proof. It has been reached by a slow and careful process of induction, just as the laws of natural science are found by observation and comparison of facts. With this preliminary, to assure the public that we are giving them not guesswork but proved *rules*, we present herewith the ten keys which unlock the transposition ciphers, and we advise those who are curious in such matters to cut them out, and apply them to the dispatches which we intend to print to-morrow and on several subsequent days. It is to be understood that the numbers represent the place of the words as they stand in the untranslated cipher, and the order of the numbers in each column is the order in which those cipher words must be arranged in order to give the meaning of the message:

TABLE OF KEYS.

10 Words		15 Words		20 Words		25 Words		30 Words	
I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.
9	4	8	3	6	12	6	18	17	4
3	7	4	7	9	18	12	12	30	26
6	2	1	12	3	3	23	6	26	23
1	9	7	2	5	5	18	25	1	15
10	6	13	6	4	4	10	14	11	8
5	3	5	8	13	1	3	1	20	27
2	8	2	4	14	20	17	16	25	16
7	10	6	1	20	16	20	11	5	30
4	1	11	11	19	2	15	21	10	24
8	5	14	15	12	19	19	5	29	9
		9	9	17	13	8	15	27	5
		3	14	1	10	2	2	19	19
		15	5	11	6	24	17	28	17
		12	10	15	7	5	24	24	25
		10	13	18	14	11	9	4	22
				8	17	7	22	7	28
				16	11	13	7	13	1
				2	15	1	4	18	18
				10	9	25	10	12	12
				7	8	22	8	22	6
						9	23	21	21
						16	20	15	20
						21	3	3	29
						14	13	9	14
						4	19	14	7
								2	3
								6	11
								16	13
								23	10
								8	2

## THE SUBSTITUTION CIPHERS.

After getting the solution of the transposition ciphers, the "blind words" or substitution ciphers, had next to be considered. Many of them explained themselves, as soon as the dispatches in

which they occurred were arranged in proper order. Many were interpreted by the help of the newspaper files of the dates to which they belonged. Some few are still under investigation. Chosen arbitrarily as these words were, it might have been supposed that it would be necessary for us to rely almost wholly upon guess-work for their interpretation. This is so far from being the case that there is perhaps no part of the deciphering process in which the *proof* of the meaning is so clear as when it deals with these arbitrary substitutions. We have mentioned an instance in which the history of a day to which a certain dispatch refers guided us to an inference as to the signification of the cipher-word "London." We did not rely upon inference, however, for our knowledge of this important word. To say nothing of the scores of instances in which the interpretation "Canvassing Board," as a substitute for "London" makes sense, where no other definition that we can think of will make it, there is one dispatch from New-Orleans, dated November 21, which settles the question beyond cavil. That dispatch reads in cipher:

**Committees none London sub with but met Moselle canvassed our Thames admitted count tally counties.**

Being translated by Key IV, it yields the following:

**London met; admitted none but Moselle sub-committees. Thames counties canvassed tally with our count.**

Now, we know as a matter of history, that on the 20th of November there was great anxiety as to the probable action of the Louisiana Returning Board in regard to holding secret sessions. The visiting politicians of both National parties asked to be admitted; so did the friends and representatives of various local candidates and a score of other persons. When it met on the morning of the 21st the Board decided to admit only a certain small number of the visiting Democrats and an equal number of the visiting Republicans. It then took up the returns, and three of the county returns which it canvassed were admitted by the Democrats to be correct. Here then we have an absolute demonstration of the meaning of (1.) London = Returning Board; (2.) Moselle = two; (3.) Thames = three. We set these down in our vocabulary and look for light elsewhere. "Russia" appears to denote some important personage. Ex-Governor Bigler, who was one of the Tilden visitors at New-Orleans, wished to communicate with Russia in New-York, and he intrusted his message

to somebody to put into cipher. It begins therefore in this form: "Bigler to Russia." But about that time we find Colonel Pelton asking Smith M. Weed at Columbia to "Telegraph what is the majority on Russia." Who was there in New-York who had been running for anything in South Carolina? Nobody but Mr. Tilden himself. And that he was Russia, there are a hundred things to show. Another South Carolina dispatch mentions a report that "America party are trading off Russia;" and as a matter of fact we know that the papers were full just at that time of a scheme of the South Carolina Conservatives to trade off Tilden for Hampton. By a somewhat similar course of observation, which will be apparent later when we print the dispatches, "Greece" is ascertained to be Hayes, "Ithaca" is shown to stand for Democrats, and "Havana" for Republicans. "Rochester" is very often used, and here his a telegram which proves its meaning conclusively.

Returning Board attempted to count electoral *Rochester* this morning. We opposed, and they adjourned until 3. Think they are controlled [by] *Havana* party. They said they would count *Rochester* as they stood on face of returns, and that was all *Ithaca* asked.

"Rochester" of course can be nothing else but "votes" in this case, and there is certainly no difficulty in identifying "Ithaca" and "Havana," especially as we know that the Democrats were then clamoring for a count of the vote on the face of the returns. Might not "Ithaca" be a person? No; because while the telegram above cited refers to the action of "Ithaca" in Florida, another dispatch from New-Orleans announces that "Ithaca" there [in the plural] "have entire returns showing 8,500 to 8,900 majority for Tilden"—which was about the modest figure of the Democratic claim at that time. And there are other cases in which "Ithaca" plainly refers to a party.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF NUMBERS.

We have already seen how the same Louisiana dispatch which establishes the meaning of "London" also demonstrated that "Thames" meant "three," and "Moselle" meant "Two." We soon saw reason to suspect that the names of rivers always represented numbers, and this turned out to be the case. The proofs are complete and simple. For example, a telegram from New-York to Colombia states that "friend will go through on train leaving here to-night at *Potomac* o'clock." We have only to consult the railway time-tables of that month to find out at what time the night train for the South left Jersey City, and so we learn that *Potomac* means "six." Repeatedly

figures of State or county majorities are given which we can interpret by consulting the newspaper files, and so we discover that "Danube" is "five" and "Schuykill" "seven." "River" is a very common word in connection with numbers. There is one long dispatch which has so many rivers in it that until we found the key of transposition we knew it as "the river dispatch." When the words came to be rearranged in their proper sequence three rivers came together after a numeral, thus "Danube (5) river river river." The dispatch evidently referred to a large amount, and to a lump sum; clearly "river" could be nothing else than 0. We have quoted a dispatch in which the Democrats claim a majority of 85 [Mississippi Danube] to 89 [Mississippi Missouri] thousand. The meaning of "Mississippi" and of "Danube" had been ascertained before we reached that dispatch, but this was the first time we had encountered "Missouri." Yet the interpretation was perfectly simple. The majority was said to be from 85 to 8—, the last unit being unknown. It must be something higher than 5. It was neither 6 nor 7, because we had identified them already; of course it was not 8, and there was nothing left but 9. This led us a step further. We had all the units except 1 and 4, and two rivers remained, "Rhine" and "Hudson." The meaning of "Rhine" was speedily settled by a telegram in which, after giving the majority for the Hayes electors in South Carolina, "8," went on to say: "*Rhine* of Tilden's within 20 of their lowest." The journals of the period will show that one of the Tilden electors was said to be only a little way behind the lowest Republican elector and so "Rhine" is determined as "one," and "Hudson" is the equivalent of "four." "Glasgow" and "Edinburgh" are frequently found preceded by numerals, and never found alone. It would have been easy to guess that they stood for "hundred" and "thousand" respectively, but guessing is quite unnecessary; the care with which Mr. Tilden's agents telegraphed the figures of majorities supplies us with the proof of these interpretations.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF PERSONS.

We explained the other day the manner in which the "Fox" of these dispatches was recognized as C.W. Woolley recognition so complete that there is not a word more to be said about it. "Max," in the same way, is proved to be Colonel Coyle, and "Moses" to be Mr. Manton Marble. The correspondents, when using the cipher, never signed their real names, and yet it is almost always easy to determine who they were, for the telegrams were always addressed to the real names

of the persons for whom they were intended, and a large majority of them either give or call for an answer, or else belong to a series of continued dispatches, all relating to one transaction and under the management of one person; and in the course of such a series the identification of the writer is sure to be established. When we find a telegram addressed to Colonel Pelton and signed "Moses," and just afterward another telegram in answer to it, addressed to Mr. Manton Marble and signed "Denmark," we are at no loss to decide that Marble is "Moses" and that Pelton is "Denmark."

DUMB WORDS.

In many cipher systems the use of "dumb words," or "nulls," that is, words thrown in merely to confuse, is common. There is something of the same sort in the transposition and substitution-cipher. It was necessary to fill the sequence of numbers exactly, or else the key would not fit, and when the dispatch fell short of the proper length "nulls" were added to complete the measure. In the form in which the cipher was sent these unmeaning words appeared scattered all over the dispatch, but when it was transposed for translation they all fell together at the end. There were only a few of them— Anna, Charles, Thomas, Jane, Captain, Lieutenant, etc., and, of course, they were easily recognized. There is one dispatch which really consists only of the three words, "Matters desperate here," but to these seven "nulls" are added, in order to make out the sequence of 10. It was hardly worth while, perhaps, to go through so much for the sake of getting so little; but many foolish things are found in the cipher dispatches.

THE VOCABULARY.

The following list contains some of the substitution ciphers whose meaning seems to be distinctly proved. There are many more of which we feel quite confident; but we prefer to wait until we have an opportunity to put them to further test. We desire to give nothing in this table but what is proved.

Copenhagen	Greenbacks.
Denmark	Pelton.
Fox	Woolley.
Greece	Hayes.
Havana	Radicals.
Ithaca	Democrats.
Lima	accept.
London	Returning Board.
Monroe	County.

Paris	draw.
Petersburg	deposit.
Rochester	votes.
Russia	Tilden.
Syracuse	majority.
Utica	trading.
Warsaw	telegraph.
Winning	Woolley.

River	.0.
Rhine	.1.
Moselle	.2.
Thames	.3.
Hudson	.4.
Danube	.5.
Potomac	.6.
Schuylkill	.7.
Mississippi	.8.
Missouri	.9.
Glasgow	.hundred.
Edinburgh	.thousand.

Thomas	] nulls
Jane	
Anna	
Charles	
Daniel	
Captain	
Lieutenant	

CHANGE OF CIPHERS.

The meaning of the substitution-ciphers, however, was not invariable. There are certain words which seem to mean one thing in Florida and another in Louisiana; there are words which mean one thing to-day and another thing to-morrow; and at an ascertained date the whole system was altered. We do not find any of the ciphers, however, in the preceding vocabulary used at any time in any others sense than the one there assigned to them; although we do find other ciphers with the same meanings. These changes, as well as the peculiarities of the minor cipher-systems, will be treated as their place occurs in the course of the narrative.

# THE NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1878.

## THE FLORIDA CIPHER TELEGRAMS.

### THE DEMOCRATIC VISITING STATESMEN AND THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WITH GRAMERCY PARK.

THE WHOLE STORY OF FLORIDA AS REVEALED IN THEIR OWN DISPATCHES.

A HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR THE BOARD—FIFTY THOUSAND FOR ONE VOTE—  
GRAMERCY PARK ACCEPTS—HOW THEY FAILED.

Traces of money payment are darkly visible. — [Manton Marble, *Letter on "The Electoral Commission," August, 1878.*

Offering to the highest bidder the sacred muniments of the Presidential title. — [Manton Marble.

An ague-smitten Pariah...betrayed his capacity for crime by attempting to hide the true. — [Manton Marble.

It is anybody's secret that throughout the month while this groundwork and primary part of the conspiracy was heaping up and cementing in debauchment and dishonor, the certificates of these three State Canvassing Boards were for sale. Two were actually purchased. They were bought by promises of office, or by money, or by both. — [Manton Marble.

Nothing more difficult than that eight of the highest Republicans should put on blindness and grant impunity to the frauds which John Sherman in Louisiana and "Index" Noyes in Florida had abetted or defended the committing of by Republicans the lowest and vilest. — [Manton Marble.

Any one of the venal crew could deliver what he deemed a conclusive title to the Presidency. But it was not there and thus that Mr. Tilden sought to compass the defeat of the Republican conspiracy. Whatever the wish, or the less absolute integrity or the more customary morals, of any devoted adherent, no such transaction would he consent to nor connive at, nor permit. — [Manton Marble.

The true history of the contest for the electoral votes of Florida in 1876 is told for the first time in the cipher dispatches of the Democratic managers in that State to and from Gramercy Park, New-York. The translations of these dispatches, given below, show that the confidential agents of Mr. Tilden in that State were Manton Marble, C.W. Woolley and John F. Coyle; that these agents went to Tallahassee with prearranged ciphers for communication with the residence of Mr. Tilden; that they first labored by lawful means to secure for him the votes of that State, and failed therein because the official returns gave a majority for Mr. Hayes. Cipher dispatches regarding the bribery of a member of the Canvassing Board then passed between Mr. Tilden's residence and his confidential agents in Tallahassee. One proposition to pay \$200,000 for a member was held too high, because another dispatch from a different agent promised a cheaper bargain. Then by both agents separate propositions were sent in separate ciphers, to buy a member for \$50,000. The reply from Gramercy was, "Proposition accepted if done only once," and the two agents were separately ordered to consult with each other in haste. It does not clearly appear that the goods would have been delivered. But the scheme fell through because four words were dropped from the dispatch authorizing the purchase, thus making it unintelligible. It was after some delay repeated from Gramercy Park in full and intelligible form, but arrived too late, and the visiting statesmen so reported to Gramercy Park.

## I.

## DISCOVERING THE SITUATION.

On Wednesday afternoon, November 8, 1876, it became known to capable leaders of both parties that the Presidential election would probably turn on the vote of Florida. In South Carolina Mr. Tilden had fallen far behind the Democratic State ticket. In Louisiana it had been notorious for weeks that the Democrats, by systematic beatings and murders in counties formerly Republican, had rendered it possible for the Returning Board, in accordance with the peculiar law of that State, to throw out returns giving large Democratic majorities. But the four electoral votes of far-off Florida would suffice to secure the election of Mr. Tilden, if, as telegrams from the Democratic Committee in Florida declared, the majority of the popular vote in that State had been for Democratic electors. Sparsely-settled Florida, the scene already of many notorious frauds, thus had power to determine for at least four years the destiny of a nation of forty millions of people. Not without reason *The Tribune* remarked on Thursday morning, the 9th, "Everything seems to hinge upon this State. ... It is just possible that the election is not over—and we wish Mr. Magone had not suddenly left this city last night." He went to Philadelphia, and there met "Duke Gwinn," the reputed manager of Mr. Tilden's secret campaign, and Senator Kelly, of Oregon, who started for home at once, and whose deeds—are they not recorded in the notorious "Gobble" dispatches already deciphered by *The Tribune*? (see Appendix A, Cipher XXIX.)

Florida had been bullied and bribed, "bull-dozed" and terrorized, through a long and fierce campaign, until even the most hopeful Republicans had almost lost confidence that their scattered friends in that State, mainly colored citizens, could stand up against the torrent. On the day of election, Republican judges and clerks were driven from the polls by force, the boxes were stuffed with fraudulent Democratic votes, and in at least one precinct were afterwards seized and burned, to make sure that the fraud should not be disclosed. Jackson County, which had 700 white and 1,169 colored citizens, and had given nearly 800 Republican majority in 1868, and nearly 400 on 1874, was thus made to return a Democratic majority of 106. Proofs of these and many other frauds were produced before the Canvassing Board, and afterwards before Congressional Committees. And yet the staunch Republicans of that State had so well resisted bribery, fraud and force that, when the returns began to come in, the Democratic managers found that they had been beaten. At

once they set out to steal the State by fraudulent returns, and, imitating the skill of the practised pickpocket, began to cry out in dispatches before us, that "the Radicals *intend* fraud." Appeals for "money" and "material aid," professedly to resist these "intended" frauds, but really to secure fraudulent returns for Mr. Tilden, went from Florida on the 9th to "Duke Gwinn" at Philadelphia, and to the National Democratic headquarters, accompanied with assertions that "the State had gone for Tilden by at least 1,600 majority." No doubt Democrats at the North believed this assertion at first, but it is certain that the Democratic managers in Florida knew that it was false from the start. They needed secret communication with the "barrel of money" at New-York, and the following dispatches show how they obtained it:

[8.]

Talla., Nov. 9, 1876.

To Gwinn, Philadelphia:

We need money to resist Radical pranks. State is for Tilden.

A.L. Randolph.

[9.]

Jax., Fla., 9 Nov. 9th.

Raney &amp; Bloxham:

We will attend to everything east and north of Suwannee. You take middle and west in hand. Expense will be paid. Draw on Payne if you need money.

J.J. Daniel.

[12.]

Nov. 9, 1876.

To A.S. Hewitt, Everett House, New-York:

Our State has gone for Tilden and Democratic State ticket by at least 1,600. We learn that W.B. Chandler has left Washington for this place. Radicals intend fraud. We need material aid to check them. Can we get it?

Geo. P. Raney, Of State Ex. Com.

[10.]

Nov. 9, 1876.

A.S. Hewitt, Everett House, New-York:

Send a good man here to represent your committee, with an understood cipher.

W.D. Bloxham, Geo. P. Raney,  
for State Com.

[11.]

New-York—9.

W.D. Bloxham,  
Geo. P. Raney.

Telegram rec'd. He has gone on.

Abram S. Hewitt.

On the night of the 9th, John F. Coyle, a notorious lobbyist of Washington, who had been rendering "invaluable services" for Tilden in North Carolina, started southward with the "understood cipher," as the following shows:

[14.]

Raleigh, N.C., Nov. 11, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Meet this Here safe Weldon noon Rome arrived will not things have at Look although of on Cox Webster Ed give me Thomas instructions me particulars yet with to-night and came fall seen train Brooklyn. Max.

The cipher is now "understood" by others beside those who used it. By applying keys 3 (for the first 15 words), and 6 (for the last 20 words) published yesterday, the following translation will be obtained:

[14. Translation.]

To H—.

Nov. 11.

Arrived safe. Meet Rome at Weldon this noon. Things look well here, although have not seen Cox. Ed. Webster, of Brooklyn, came on train with me. Give me to-night full particulars and instructions. Thomas. Coyle.

The fact that "Max" is John F. Coyle is proved by the following telegrams and by many others presently to be given:

[1.]

Raleigh, N.C., Nov. 1, 1876.

Colonel W.T. Pelton, 59 Liberty-st., N.Y.:

I cheerfully accept responsibility. Mike and Alexander share it. We shall succeed. Max.

[2.]

Weldon, N.C., Nov. 2, 1876.

Colonel W.T. Pelton, Everett House, N.Y.:

Just discovered frauds. Our tickets are printed wrong. Have ordered new tickets all over the State. I go to Raleigh next train. Such a fraud may have been perpetrated in other States. Warn our friends everywhere. Max.

[3.]

New-York, Nov. 2, '76.

John F. Coyle, Raleigh, N.C.:

Telegraph me nature of the frauds.

W.T. Pelton.

Dispatches from Coyle to Havemeyer, through-

out the telegraphic correspondence, were often answered by Colonel W.T. Pelton, and were obviously intended for him and for Mr. Tilden, though sent to a trusted friend and near neighbor to avert suspicion. In other unimportant dispatches to Mr. Havemeyer, Coyle chronicles his progress from Weldon, Wilmington, Flemington and Charleston. In one from Raleigh, just before starting, he says to Havemeyer, "Barnum should go to Louisiana with Senators, and also Fox; I know it's the thing to do." Thus early, the experienced Coyle had apprehended what sort of "mule-buyers," and what "invaluable services" Gramercy Park would need at the South. For himself, he proceeded to business the very day he arrived at Jacksonville, as follows:

[21.]

Jacksonville, Nov. 13.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Just arrived had no communication with that party will telegraph fully every day. Max.

[20.]

Jacksonville, Fla., Nov. 13.

[To same.]

In nine one plyne of twelve ten thirty hold Italy sixteen thirteen eleven information will eight that three England first and go immediately seven twenty afternoon twenty situation one to-morrow. Sent two Tallahassee seven twenty four has meeting to thirty. Max.

[20. Translation.]

Jacksonville, Fla., Nov. 13.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 W. Seventeenth-st., N.Y.:

Necessary supply telegraphic credit of Payne in First eight Bank five thousand three hundred dollars. Information that Board will hold canvassing meeting immediately. Coyle and Ramey to go to Tallahassee to-morrow afternoon. Coyle has sent dispatch situation. Coyle.

To translate this dispatch, the words must first be transposed by key 6, repeated, and the numerals afterward interpreted. The Payne named was James H. Payne, President Florida Saving Bank of Jacksonville, and treasurer Democratic State Committee, but in transmission the word was turned into "plyne," and Mr. Havemeyer could not understand it, as the following shows:

[23. Translation]

New-York, Nov. 14.

John F. Coyle, or G.P. Raney:

On what one six cant, have seven and

frequently uncertain, twenty twenty seven forty be,  
and whom name made two, be advise one nine  
fifty. H.H.

[23.]

John F. Coyle or Geo. P. Ramy, Tallahassee, Fla.

Have telegraph. Name uncertain, telegraphic  
credit whom to be made and what bank. Cant  
Coyle on fifty. Advise frequently and be prompt.  
Havemeyer.

The transposition key is No. 8. The numeral  
50, being not elsewhere used, may refer to any  
bank or person in New-York, the obvious meaning  
being, "Cannot Coyle draw on" some person. But  
Coyle and Raney had not arrived, and when they  
reached Tallahassee found also the following, of  
which two words are lost.

[26.]

New-York, 15.

Jno. F. Coyle, or G.P. Raney:

Report forty captain one twenty twenty who  
as you to one eight nine slated two for  
Brown thirty by five waiting twenty thirty. H.

(Transposition Key No. 8.)

[26. Translation.]

N-York, Nov. 15.

John F. Coyle or G.P. Raney, Tallahassee, Fla.

Telegram waiting for you. Forty two thirty nine  
Brown who — — telegraphs to twenty eight. Re-  
port requirements as stated by — — Captain.  
Havemeyer.

Meanwhile the situation in New-Orleans had  
become so gloomy that the following dispatches  
were sent:

[24.]

New-Orleans, Nov. 14.

Hon. S.J. Tilden, 15 Gramercy Park.

After a full survey of the situation here, we ur-  
gently recommend that you make at once to Gov-  
ernor Hayes the proposition hitherto  
communicated to you.

Samuel J. Randall,  
L.Q.C. Lamar,  
Henry Watterson,  
Oswald Ottendorfer.

[22.]

Nov. 14, 6.

Henry Havemeyer, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:  
Am en route to Tallahassee; reach there

to-morrow afternoon.

Fox.

It will appear hereafter that "Fox" was C.W.  
Woolley, of Cincinnati, who found it less easy to  
arrange the result in Louisiana than the issue of  
the Johnson impeachment case, and who sought  
in Florida a better field for the exercise of his  
peculiar gifts. But the long array of experienced  
vote-dealers would have been like an army  
without a General, in the opinion of at least one  
man, had not Mr. Manton Marble also arrived to  
take command on the 14th or 15th. His doings  
and first report now appear:

[27.]

Tallahassee, Nov. 16, 1876.

To Colonel J.J. Daniel, Jacksonville, Fla.

Ascertain if official returns have been forwarded  
east. Time when. Whether by express, registered let-  
ter or mail. In all cases obtain certificate, under  
seal, of all papers. Separate returns, under seal, of  
county canvass. Ascertain full particulars in  
Manatee—whether ordered by board. Get certifi-  
cate, under seal. Sparkman Fort Meade will do it.  
Telegraph. Raney has not received money. Tele-  
graph why and when.

W. Call.

[30.]

Talla, 16.

Colonel Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

Use hundred and forty ciphers all to there ad-  
vice some our must everything cordially necessary  
one coming remain our head received was abso-  
lutely driving no probably month was result this  
business to majority being evidence will truth but  
afoot Democratic establishing be that distances  
contriving but unquestionable clear nothing  
Democrats slow well followed preserve now be re-  
turns doubtless to may enormous claim county  
first board wrongly travel to be will more may  
canvassing purge and will our difficult Governor  
canvasser received Democrat three egregious ac-  
tion require returns able county of canvassing of  
already fraud one where state board being officers  
Republican with the immediate beginning legal  
other Georgia helpful very Governor while need  
brown help question counsel Sellers the arising no  
in we possible best also and Saltonstall remain  
can be Moses along and here or general called on  
army road to-day officers attorney Governor.

[No sig.]

(Use transposition key 7 repeated four times,  
and afterward key 5 twice).

## [30. Translation.]

Nov. 16.

To Pelton:

Use hundred and forty cipher. Our coming was absolutely necessary. There was no head, driving everything to result. Some one must remain all this month, cordially received; probably our advice will be followed. Clear Democratic majority unquestionably. Democrats contriving nothing but to preserve evidence establishing truth. That business now well afoot, but slow, distances being enormous, travel difficult. Canvassing Board doubtless may and will purge county returns. Governor may wrongly claim to be canvasser. Our first move will be to require of the board of three State officers, one being able Democrat, immediate action, canvassing returns already received beginning with county where Republican fraud egregious. Governor Brown, Georgia, very helpful. Sellers best possible counsel in legal questions arising. We need no other help while he and Saltonstall can remain. Called on Governor, Attorney-General to-day also on army officers along road and here. Marble.

Undoubtedly Mr. Marble was one of those who really believed at first the assertions of local managers that there was a clear Democratic majority, and that "the Radicals" were "infernal scoundrels." Until about the 21st of November, it is charitable to suppose that some trace of this belief remained in his mind. During this first stage in the history of the struggle in Florida, the main effort of the Democratic managers was to obtain full proofs to submit to the Board, and Mr. Marble, believing that the board composed of three State officers would act honestly, had little idea of the proofs of Democratic fraud which the Republicans were accumulating. At that time he did not know, it is probable, that the local managers were holding back returns from some of the important Democratic counties for a sinister purpose. Meanwhile, Coyle was drawing money for expenses, and Woolley, detained somewhere, had not yet arrived. The accuracy of our translations of cipher dispatches can be abundantly illustrated by quotations from news dispatches published at that time, and it is important to note this verification of the keys used, because they also decipher subsequent dispatches of a very different character. The following telegrams were sent:

## [32.]

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Situation unchanged. M. telegraphed what was being done. General F.C. Barlow arrived to-day.

Max.

## [33.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 17, '76.

Charles H. Scribner, Toledo, Ohio:

Send at once to Hon. Lafayette Grover, Salem, Oregon, Fourth Harris & McHenry by express.  
Answer.

Frank H. Hurd.

## [35.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 17, 1876.

To Colonel Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

Truth, board frauds our contrived no purge slowly Democratic will official prove friends only returns canvassing the arrive to seeking committed move law power gives returns expedite our the will by board and our published first is opinion on friend to-day will returns received already canvassing authority of usurp our by this will greatest Governor petition risk demanded he have course and certificate transmit to lieutenant for canvass Moses law is of Republican and that both precedent there result.

[No signature.]

(Use key No. 5.)

## [35. Translation.]

Nov. 17, 1876.

To Colonel Pelton:

No Democratic frauds arrived; our friends only seeking to prove the truth. Official returns arrive slowly. Canvassing board will purge returns. The law gives power, and our friend on Board is committed by published opinion. Our first move will expedite canvassing of returns already received. He will have this demanded by our petition to-day. Greatest risk Governor Stearns will usurp authority to canvass and transmit certificate of Republican result. There is both law and precedent for that course.

Marble Lieutenant.

The "friend on board," was Attorney-General Cocke, who had so publicly proclaimed his opinion and purpose that objection was made to his acting on the board, at its first meeting.

## [39.]

Talla., Fla., 18, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Ten Jacksonville Jacksonville it requested eleven place I have one Payne England notify twelve from one. If four immediately Daniels as not I you Italy.

W. Call,  
J.J. Daniels,  
Max.

(Use key No. 8.)

## [39. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 18, '76.

H. Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Have you provided five thousand three hundred dollars telegraphic credit Payne, as requested from Jacksonville? If you have not, place your telegraphic credit J.J. Daniels, Jacksonville. Notify immediately.

W. Call,  
J.J. Daniels,  
Coyle.

## [40.]

Talla., Fla., 18, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Our particulars as England twenty slowly for twenty twelve say progress some surely one friends seven we news send Moses three Moses upon but Max.

(Use key No. 8.)

## [40. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 18.

H. Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

We progress slowly, but surely, our friends say. Marble telegraphs particulars. Draw upon twenty three for five hundred for Marble. Send us some news.

Coyle.

## [42.]

New-York, 19.

Colonel J.J. Daniels:

Before doing anything definite with Heferen see letter from me to you dated 19th.

Abram S. Hewitt, Chairman.

## [43.]

Nov. 19, 1876.

To E. Cuthbert, Columbia, S.C.:

Have you arranged about the fund? Wire answer. Situation unchanged. Democrats still majority for Tilden.

H.W. Good.

## [44.]

New-York, — 19.

Manton Marble:

Or must dispatch B. for not received trust D Thomas that you Charles sends for. W.

(Use key No. 4.)

## [44. Translation.]

New-York, Nov. 19.

Manton Marble, Tallahassee, Fla.

Dispatch received. You must not trust B, or that, for D. sends for Thomas-Charles. W.

## [45.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 19, 6.

Col. Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park:

Have us making of Honesty purposed willingness to-day only his trusted infernal B. troublesome nobody writes scoundrels France these to whether and in suggestions writing to result should received declare France as we wish or ascertain to London make to belief went for electors presidential of over to-day vote out in Chandler this their France emissaries professes authority undoubtedly game shall in to local looks state Moses fire probably night I France backing for not bell certificate ring in alterations.

[No Sig.]

(Use key No. 5.)

## [45. Translation.]

Purposed only making honesty of B. (Barlow) troublesome to these infernal scoundrels. Have trusted nobody. Governor to-day writes us his willingness to receive in writing suggestions we wish to make as to whether Governor or Board should ascertain and declare result of vote for Presidential electors. This their game undoubtedly. Chandler professes belief in Governor's authority. To-day emissaries went out over State, probably to cook local backing for alterations in certificates. Shall I not ring fire-bell in night? Marble.

As an illustration of the correction of the translations, see the following letter, quoted in the affidavit of Governor Stearns, submitted to Judge White five days after:

"S. Pasco, Esq.

"Sir: Referring to the inquiries made of me by you and other gentlemen last evening, I have to say that I shall be very happy to receive from you in writing any suggestions you may desire to make as to the question whether the Governor or the State Canvassing Board should ascertain and declare the result of the vote for Presidential Electors.

M.L. Stearns.

It will be seen that Mr. Marble, as translated by our keys, quotes the Governor's exact words.

## [46.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 19.

Col. Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park:

To Russia repeating twenty-five cipher only returns demand our circuit know herald what shall we of from will counties to Monday shall work news we hitherto apply Monday have to reissued London canvassing hope loins also Judge com-

mand from summons some for from to for Re-  
straining cooking for fairness loins order opinion  
begin whose returns to loins to We opinion us that  
brown loins soon canvasses notice he thinks cook-  
ed promise to obtained London of yesterday publish  
very not give means meanwhile to I are returns and  
of rather London Greece Secretary declares state  
returns game because Judge for is their all con-  
vening result interrupt delays under voice ground  
declare that not has been her to on he in author-  
ity and may canvass that loins lose Florida re-  
turns statue than and superceded has integrity  
proceedings Kasson will I him his Choate Barlow  
fool promptly he soon estimate Chandler upon see  
of O'Conors leaves for called they telegraphed vis-  
its Barlow we advised and Noyes wasted to shall  
Monday others are three otherwise proffer con-  
tinue men after coöperation to unless comptroller  
coming Robertson on Moses. [Not signed.]

(Use Key No. 7, beginning to number after the  
word "only.")

[46. Translation.]

Nov. 19.

To Pelton.

To Tilden, repeating twenty five cipher only.  
*Herald* will have news of our work hitherto Mon-  
day. We shall demand to know from what counties  
returns reissued. Monday we shall apply to Circuit  
Judge, from whose fairness some hope for order  
restraining Governor from canvassing returns.  
Also for command to Board to begin. Emmons  
cooking opinion for Governor that he, not Board,  
canvasses. We obtained yesterday promise of  
Board to give us notice. Brown thinks Governor  
means very soon to—cooked opinion and declare  
result for Hayes. I judge their game is rather to  
interrupt returns. Secretary of State meanwhile  
delays canvassing Board because all returns are  
not in. Then Governor, on ground that Florida  
may lose her voice, and that he has authority  
under superseded statutes to canvass returns. I  
promptly called to see Barlow, proceeding upon  
O'Connor's estimate of his integrity. They will fool  
him. He has telegraphed for Choate. Leaves soon.  
Kasson, Noyes are coming after Monday. We mean  
to proffer coöperation to Barlow, Robertson and  
others. Wasted three visits on Controller. Shall  
continue unless advised. Marble.

[47.]

New-York, Nov. 20, 1876.

That be it green Cole judge is Ashbel a Thomas  
advised Charles H. See. Denmark.

(Use key No. 4.)

[47. Translation.]

Nov. 20.

Manton Marble:

It is advised by Judge Ashbel Green that you  
see A.H. Cole. Thomas Charles. Pelton.

[49.]

Nov. 21, 1876.

To Colonel Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

Try to have the documents which the Associated  
Press will soon receive to-night sent over the coun-  
try by Western, New-England and other agents.  
Pray stop sending any more people here. They  
delay business, and take up more time than I can  
possibly spare in utterly needless consultation and  
palaver. Every new one needs the education and  
local knowledge I have been a week in acquiring.  
The business is all perfectly in hand, and every  
point guarded. Heartily glad to see Perry Smith  
and Gibson, of course, who arrived to-day. Who is  
Paris? Judge Robertson returns home to-morrow.  
Everything looks well. Manton Marble.

[50.]

Henry Havemeyer, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Bayne useful once P very here may Lawrence at  
concurs if Smith be sent Perry came of necessity  
him let carriage from come will take if in and  
there he way answer the Thomasville by

Max.

(Use keys Nos 3 and 6.)

[50. Translation.]

Prob. Nov. 19.

To Havemeyer:

Lawrence P. Bayne may be very useful here if  
sent at once. Perry Smith concurs in the necessity.  
Let him come by way of Thomasville, and take  
carriage from there. Answer if he will come.

Coyle.

[51.]

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th.-st., N.Y.:

One proceedings culminating twenty legal W  
Fills Moses Matters by arrived reinforced of yes-  
terday Radicals seven twelve Wallace others and it  
to distance gave agents Noyes half Drew sent  
France for Kasson and for Max.

(Use keys No 3 and 6.)

[51. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Nov. 21.

To Havemeyer:

Marble's dispatch tells of legal proceedings. Woolley arrived yesterday. Matters culminating. Radicals reinforced by Noyes, Kasson, Wallace and others. Draw for two hundred and a half. Gave it to Drew for agents sent to distance. Coyle.

[53.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 21, '76.

Col. Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park:

All France next biddle after man on restraint mentioned command he just in last went upon brought for has dispatch France Wednesday last returning life London Moses associated. nearly morning shall have none better publish press got documents we fight.

(Use Key No. 5.)

[53. Translation.]

Talla, Nov. 21.

To Pelton:

Man mentioned next after Biddle in last dispatch has just brought all he went for, restraint upon Governor Stearns, command on Board. Nearly lost life returning; none better fight. We have got Governor. Shall publish documents associated press Wednesday morning. Marble.

[52.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 21, 6.

Colonel Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park:

Use Hudson times Danube cipher knowledge counties past not belief local copies twenty imbecility certified of get till yesterday whole Schuylkill full situation Moses could accurately it glasgow Schuylkill twenty give not seventeen Potomac would Mississippi give Havana Syracuse Glasgow Syracuse estimated and counties twelve county refuse much throw to strain to scoundrels London wholly Ithaca Potomac out Moselle Rochester would Manatee only thirty Glasgow too and Moselle nineteen Glasgow throw to sent out Hay narrow margin havana Rochester Moses Thompson is yesterday county Alachua to others perfect proofs our Alachua Moselle there to into fortify to to-day Moses us and Manatee thoroughly Jurist dispatched working Louisiana Moses not must other came regretting counties Wilkinson Fox been name Cole, arrived leaving act, yesterday arrived already county questions working arrives Biddle Sunday of communicated is power for to-day Sellers purpose, Barlow neighboring heretofore yesterday went suspend will never denounce will France down right unless but be florida rope exercise may in London to Senate France, give to Moses fight close is fair no earliest unquestionably needs wise best and

hard its stages possible at Do will tell and except powers full further Moses perfectly assistance discreet withdrawn for which will is trustworthy granted some taken be. [No sig.]

(Use Key. No. 5, "Hudson" (4) times "Danube" (5) or 20 cipher.)

[52. Translation.]

Nov. 21.

Colonel Pelton:

Use Hudson times Danube cipher—Local imbecility almost past belief. Not till yesterday could Moses get knowledge of whole situation. Twenty Schuylkill counties, certified copies, give Potomac Glasgow twenty Schuylkill Havana Syracuse. Twelve counties give estimated accurately Mississippi Glasgow and seventeen Syracuse. It would not strain London much so throw out Moselle Glasgow thirty Potomac Manatee County. Ithaca Rochester, only scoundrels would refuse wholly to throw out Moselle Glasgow nineteen Havana Rochester Alachua County. Margin is too narrow. Moses yesterday sent Thompson and Hay to Alachua to perfect our proofs. To-day Moses dispatched jurist to Manatee to fortify us thoroughly there, and others into Moselle (two) other counties Moses must not name. Cole already arrived been act (ively) working. Fox arrived yesterday, regretting leaving Louisiana. Wilkinson came Sunday, is working. Biddle arrives to-day. Sellers went yesterday for neighboring county, purpose heretofore communicated. Barlow questions power of France (Governor), but never will denounce exercise; may give France (Governor) rope to suspend Florida in Senate. Unless London (Board) will be downright fair, unquestionably fight is close and hard. Will do best possible to win. In earliest stages, Moses needs no further assistance, except full powers, which will be taken for granted till withdrawn. Is Rome perfectly trustworthy and discreet? Moses.

In the exact correspondence of the events here narrated, and result claimed by each party, with news dispatches published at the time, will be found conclusive proof of the correctness not only of the keys, but of the interpretations given to cipher words. Mr. Sellers, for example, did go to the adjoining county, Gadsden, to the residence of Judge White, at Quincy, and obtained on the 20th temporary writs of injunction forbidding the counting of votes by the Governor, and mandamus requiring the Board to proceed to canvass, as the following states:

[69.]

Talla., Fla., Nov. 21.

General J.B. Gordon, Columbia, S.C.:

Thanks; yes, will use if expedient. Stearns contemplates usurping canvassing under old superseded statute, and winning by cooked certificates. I expose him North to-day, and that is not all. Good and sufficient force here now, well organized. Tell Randolph that job he should have let Fox manage has been too engrossing night and day for me to telegraph. Will exchange news hereafter. We shall put Uncle Sammy through, and end the reign of thieves.

Manton Marble.

[55.]

Nov. 22, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

With be to relations intimate cannot more. Otherwise consent much Moses act with strange in can cheerfully command can Parisians Florida Charles —can probably useful Jane discouraging in Anna critical at be more though Fox any rate not there useful.

F.

(Use Key No. 5.)

[55. Translation.]

Nov. 22.

To Havemeyer:

Cannot consent to intimate relations with strange Parisians (persons.) Can act cheerfully with Marble in command; otherwise can be much more useful in —. Probably can be more useful there at any rate. Florida critical, though not Fox Charles Anna Jane.

Woolley.

[56.]

Talla, Fla.

Colonel W.T. Pelton, No. 59 Liberty-st., N. York:

Caused is twelve William you, am judge three Thomas France may notified embarrassment Daniel on Charles and for twenty half June immediately draft protested correct.

Max.

(Use Key No. 7.)

[56. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Fla.

Colonel W.T. Pelton, No. 59 Liberty-st., N.Y.

Am notified draft for two hundred and a half on twenty three is protested. You may judge embarrassment caused. Correct immediately. Thomas Charles Jane Daniel William.

Coyle.

This draft was evidently the one referred to in No. 51, and for expenses of agents.

[57.]

W.T. Pelton, Everett House, N.Y.

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 23.

Why not answer Max dispatch yesterday. Important. Who is Parris that presents himself here without credentials.

P.H. Smith.

[59.]

New-York, Nov. 23, 6.

Tallahassee, Fla., 23.

John F. Coyle:

One reliable is most of pains should Jane implicit him and reliance accorded. H.

(Use Key No. 3.)

[59. Translation.]

New-York, 23 Nov.

John F. Coyle:

Paris is one of (us) and most reliable. Implicit reliance should (be) accorded him. Jane.

Havemeyer.

[60.]

23 Nov., '76.

P.H. Smith, Tallahassee, Fla.

Telegram received. Party you ask about entirely reliable a good lawyer and useful counsellor.

W.T.P.

[62.]

New-York, 23d Nov., 1876.

To C.W. Woolley, Tallahassee, Fla.

Telegram received. You can read mine of last night by Moses. Answer.

Three.

[61.]

New-York, Nov. 23,

Tallahassee, Nov. 23, '6.

C.W. Woolley.

Refer can fetch as reliable the him me safe with is here if you you to talk Warsaw possible loose perfectly with dont as party Europe here be cards to is of and old trustworthy pointed hold professes from me you as to Jane what out shuffler do an party.

Three.

(Use Key No. 8.)

[61. Translation.]

New-York, Nov. 23.

C.W. Woolley:

Telegram here. The party you refer to is perfectly reliable. You can talk as safe with him as with me. Don't lose fetch if possible to hold. Is party from Europe you pointed out to me here as

an old shuffler of cards trustworthy, and do what he professes. Jane. Three.

## II.

### MANIPULATING RETURNS.

Up to about this time it may have been possible for Mr. Marble and other visiting Democrats to believe the assertion that Florida had voted for Mr. Tilden. But it must have been observed by the 22d that the local managers were holding back heavy Democratic returns, while trying, even by mandamus of a circuit court, to compel the board to open other returns before all had been received, and thus enable the Democrats to ascertain exactly what majorities they had to manufacture. For some days, Mr. W.E. Chandler's dispatches to *The Tribune* had been earnestly demanding the production of returns from Polk, Brevard and Lafayette counties, which finally gave 750 Democratic majority. From this time, *not a line was sent by Mr. Marble, even in his most secret ciphers*, or by any other Democratic operator in Florida, as far as we can learn, implying a belief that the Democrats had any right to the vote of the State; the sole question was whether they could get it, right or no right. For some days, they clung to the plan of holding back and altering returns, but Republican tactics defeated that game. Meanwhile, the suggestion in dispatch No. 61, from Gramercy Park, about "an old shuffler of cards," indicated the drift of thought in that quarter, and Mr. Woolley began to speak his mind through Mr. Marble, thus:

[65.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 22, 6.

Colonel Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park:

Or in Let Moses for fox either immediately do say contingencies asks here answer got your forces to together be not why we read Louisiana.

[No Sig.]

(Use Key No. 7.)

[65. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 22, 6.

Colonel Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park:

Woolley asks me to say, Let forces be got together immediately in read(iness) for contingencies either here or Louisiana. Why do you not answer?  
Marble.

What sort of "forces" did Mr. Woolley want to

have held in readiness? Armed forces? Had the suggestion come from Mr. Watterson, of Kentucky, "between the sherry and the champagne," that might have been the meaning. But Mr. Woolley is not a man of blood. He is a man of business. The "forces" which he understands how to use can be carried in the vest pocket. As yet, however, there was general reliance on the returns, and Coyle telegraphed on Saturday, the 25th, as follows:

[66.]

Nov. 25.

Henry Havemeyer, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Ten party for twelve England count on despondent thirty to friends seven commences Monday confident of our to-day sixteen forty. Max.

(Use key No. 6.)

[66. Translation.]

H. Havemeyer:

Draw to-day for five hundred dollars and expenses of party. Board commences to count on Monday. Our friends confident; Republicans despondent. Coyle.

[67.]

Nov. 26, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17-st., N.Y.

Try Lieutenant weather shall here very Charles useful bad captain to storm I stay be elsewhere or more the through. Fox.

(Use key No. 5.)

[67. Translation.]

Nov. 26.

H. Havemeyer:

Very bad weather here. Shall I stay through the storm, or try to be more useful elsewhere. Lieutenant Captain Charles. Woolley.

Apparently Mr. Woolley had expressed his view of the situation so freely to other Democratic workers in Florida that Mr. Marble became unhappy. It was the plan of "Moses" to put on airs of righteousness as long as possible, and, even if at the end votes must be bought, to buy them in the name of the Lord, and as a pious duty. Mr. Woolley, however, had no taste for thin self-deceptions, and the two did not wholly agree, but Gramercy Park assumed full responsibility for Mr. Woolley, and told him to stay, for reasons which Mr. Marble finally came to understand fully:

[75.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 27-6.

Colonel Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park.

You to by then telegraph you advise neglecting person here Jane that and contest to causing result and divided trust one imperiling answer find Do will one authority in trust way I to least nobody him and him possibly transfer calendar at two week to best for stand my Paris some copies here now about be returns always certified should Glasgow recollected fox some useless Havana on upon claim ditto Detectives Syracuse needless and indiscreet to impediment begun Russia as man Decline in and with Louisiana so sessions nobody all trusted nuisance I by aforesaid concurs a commit Smith Moses.

[No sig.]

(Use Key No. 7.)

[75. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 27, 6.

Colonel Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park:

You are imperiling result here by causing divided counsels and neglecting to answer telegrams. I advise that you find one person to trust and then trust him for at least one calendar week, possibly two. I will stand in nobody's way, and do no my best to transfer to him authority. About 100 majority on certified copies; Republicans claim same upon returns. Rome needless now, should be recalled Paris and detective always useless, ditto Woolley here as (in) Louisiana a nuisance and impediment, trusted by nobody. *I decline to commit Tilden with man so indiscreet.* Smith concurs in all aforesaid. Session begun.

Marble.

It will be observed that Mr. Marble here confesses that the pretensions of local Democrats of "1,600 majority for Tilden" have dwindled to "about 100 majority on certified copies," and has begun to think of operations in regard to which he "declines to commit Tilden" with any indiscreet man. How could Mr. Tilden be "committed" dangerously in connection with honest and lawful efforts? On the same day Mr. Marble discovered that the Board were ready to count the votes as they stood on the face of returns, which was a most unpleasant surprise for him, as he had still some lingering hope that the local Democrats might have arranged returns to correspond with their "certified copies." He telegraphed:

[78.]

Nov. 27.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Rochester me to Electoral count adjourned

until Havana controlled they they London and Thames are morning think attempted opposed this count they said wanted they of returns asked Ithica face was party on and all as that they stood Rochester.

M.

(Use Key No. 6.)

[78. Translation.]

Nov. 27.

H. Havemeyer:

Board attempted to count electoral votes this morning. We opposed and they adjourned until three. Think they are controlled [by] Republican party. They said they would count votes as they stood on face of returns, and that was all Democrats wanted.

M.

With the next day, November 28, the Democratic operators entered upon the third and final stage of their political "Rake's Progress." They were astounded when the returns were opened that day to find that, instead of the majority of 93 which fraudulent returns had been made to five them, they were beaten by 42 majority on the face of the returns. From Baker County, which they had counted 94 majority for Tilden, an official return gave 41 majority for Hayes. In order to overthrow that return, they would be compelled to affirm the power of a Republican Board to correct errors and frauds in the county returns, and then all the rascality of the returns from heavy Democratic counties like Manatee and Monroe would be exposed. In the end, the board did correct the Republican return from Baker, and gave the Democrats 136 votes more than the official return had given, but they also corrected the Democratic returns from Manatee and Monroe, cutting down the Democratic vote by 577. As soon as it was known that the board must go behind the returns, or declare the State for Hayes, consternation reigned among the Democratic schemers gathered in that dingy room in a dilapidated State House at Tallahassee. There were present, say press dispatches of that date, besides Democrats of Florida, the following from abroad, every one of whom have been named in our translated ciphers: Manton Marble, Paris, G.W. Biddle, D.W. Sellers, Sam G. Thompson, and Malcolm Hay, of Pennsylvania; C.W. Woolley, of Ohio; O.L. Saltonstall, of Massachusetts; John F. Coyle, of Washington; Perry W. Smith, of Chicago; Charles Gibson, of St. Louis, and ex-Gov. J.E. Brown, of Georgia. Dade County only was missing, and could not give an honest vote of 40 for either party. Any examination of the returns would inevitably uncover and

defeat the Democratic frauds, if the members of the Board were honest. The Democratic managers then knew, in the language of Mr. Coyle, that "nothing but Copenhagen (cash) would avail." Then it was that Mr. Marble resorted first to chicanery in Oregon, and Mr. Woolley—to something else:

[70.]

Hon. Lafayette F. Grover, Portland (or elsewhere), Oregon:

It is respectfully suggested that you refrain from the issue of any certificate in favor of an elector alleged to have been chosen November 7th, who on that day was ineligible to that office, until you have been advised thereon. *Reply at my expense, if you are unable to do this.*

Manton Marble.

[71.]

Nov. 28, 1876.

To Colonel Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

Please yourself about economies suggested. Coyle exceedingly useful hitherto. You did not answer my inquiry about Paris, and only mention him at this late date. *That promotes unity of action I suppose.* Mention names of Florida friends when you wish to learn how much weight their several requests deserve. Fox impedes daily. It's no relief that you assume responsibility for difficulties he makes. Don't fail to read message to Smith, fifteen and twenty cipher.

M.M.

[Dispatch No. 72, cipher already given.]

[72. Translation.]

G.W. Smith, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

It has been suggested from here to Governor of Oregon to refrain from issuing certificate in favor of ineligible elector until advised thereon. Why not obtain telegraph him O'Connor's opinion? See my dispatch to Havemeyer.

M. [Marble.]

### III.

#### BUYING A VOTE.

On the next day Mr. Woolley discovered that the pious and polysyllabic Marble had not only commenced "business," but was getting into the way of the worldly and "indiscreet" Woolley himself. Therefore he telegraphed:

[79.]

Nov. 30, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Fetch Daniel to that see wire Charles private  
Moses Captain contracts abstain the children.  
This Jane from is Israel of. Fox.

(Use Key No. 5.)

[79. Translation.]

Nov. 30.

To Havemeyer:

Wire Moses to see that the children of Israel abstain from fetch contracts. This is private. Jane Daniel Captain Charles. F. (Woolley.)

"Fetch" is one of the few words which, we regret to say, we cannot very satisfactorily translate, but it appears that Mr. Havemeyer, with his keys and "understood ciphers" before him, was in the same predicament. He responded:

[83.]

Talla, Fla., Dec. 1.

C.W. Woolley,

Dont understand; explain.

H(avemeyer.)

Mr. Woolley was then kind enough to translate the word "fetch" for us in the following:

[86.]

Dec. 1, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Making Jane said you to J William enemy privately Daniel propositions Moses last night to captain from the stop to Fox.

(Use Key No. 5.)

[86. Translation.]

New-York, Dec. 1.

Fox to Havemeyer:

I privately said to you last night to stop Moses from making propositions to the enemy. Captain Jane Daniel William. Fox (Woolley.)

Is it to be believed that Mr. Woolley was shocked at the thought of buying up a Republican member of the Canvassing Board? In view of his dispatch about having "forces in readiness for contingencies either here or Louisiana," will anybody believe it? Or did Mr. Woolley really think that his chief, Mr. Tilden, would be shocked? Had he conceived of Mr. Tilden the conception thus expressed by Mr. Marble: "The signal and peculiar mark of that plan was this: his *absolute trust in moral forces*; his entire faith in the people, their volitions and their power. And why, of all men in the United States, should not he?"

But what is to be said of Mr. Marble's virtue? He transmitted in his cipher Mr. Woolley's request for "forces," and yet, five days afterwards, was chiefly worried because Mr. Woolley was "in-discreet." It was not the dishonor or criminality of such use of "forces" that troubled Mr. Marble, but the impression that Mr. Woolley did not cover his business with enough veneering. Why, then, should Mr. Woolley, the blunt and straightforward trader, want to stop the propositions of Mr. Marble, whose trading was veneered with patriotism and varnished with piety? Because, unfortunately, Marble and Woolley were bidding against each other for the same vote, and putting up the price, which Mr. Woolley was "discreet" enough to see did not pay. Exactly what proposition was first transmitted to Gramercy Park by Mr. Marble, or his financial aid, Mr. Coyle, does not appear; some dispatches of the series are missing. But the following show that something very important and strictly financial was proposed:

[80.]

Tallahassee, Dec. 1st, '76.

Col. Wm. T. Pelton, 59 Liberty-st., N.Y.:

Answer Max's dispatch immediately or we will be embarrassed at a critical time. W. Call.

[84.]

New-York, Dec. 1.

Manton Marble, Tallahassee, Fla.:

Meet supplied consult read may yes able him to but be to to be who Smith with request has Daniel can't telegram your and requirements. P.

(Use Key No. 7.)

[84. Translation.]

Dec. 1.

M. Marble:

Yes, to your request, but consult with Daniels who has been supplied and may be able to meet requirements. Telegram to Smith can't be read.

P.[elton.]

J.J. Daniels, it was shown by dispatch No. 39, was the person through whom telegraphic transfers of money had been arranged November 18. The only financial dispatch immediately preceding these of the 1st was one from Coyle, which, while relating to a small amount, if correctly translated, indicates that, in answer to some previous application by Marble, "credit" had been offered.

[90.]

Talla., Fla., 4.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Seven use Moses twenty half the will credit England twelve draw not Saturday afar.

Max.

(Use Key No. 2.)

[90. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Nov. 20.

H. Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Marble will not use the credit. Coyle draws for five and half hundred Saturday. Coyle.

Other dispatches, not of great importance, though they illustrate the later events, may best be inserted here:

[103.]

Dec. 4.

Henry Havemeyer, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Forty ten twenty Anna will you cover twelve promptly one probably will all Jane and Captain Seven immediately Italy Greece Daniel me Three which notify. Max.

(Use Key No. 7.)

[103. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Dec. 4.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

You will supply immediate telegraphic credit Coyle seven hundred dollars, which will probably cover all expenses. Notify me promptly. Captain Daniel Jane Anna. Coyle.

[114.]

Talla., 5.

Henry Havemeyer, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Not notify ten Thomas nine, three Moses and this twelve, immediately Greece will place twenty, takes one Italy seven W, it any and what need.

Max.

(Use Key no. 7.)

[114. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Dec. 5.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Supply seven hundred dollars telegraphic credit Woolley and Coyle, and notify what bank immediately. Marble will not need any. This takes its place. Thomas. Coyle.

Thus matters stood on Friday, the 1st of December. The Board had opened the returns on Tuesday, the 28th, had heard evidence on both sides patiently, and was obliged to reach a deci-

sion within a few days. From the beginning Attorney-General Cocke had been counted safe by the Democrats. Dr. Cowgill, formerly of Delaware, was a staunch Union man, and Mr. Marble had said it was "wasting" time to call on him. Secretary of State McLin, for twenty-two years a resident of Florida, was once a Confederate, but afterward a Union man, and a Republican editor of reputation as an upright man, but the conspirators needed one vote, and what they tried to do let the secret dispatches show:

[91.]

[No date.]

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Rochester of answer American yesterday to-day understands Thomas my Africa about but it first avail at my nothing Bavaria as will Copenhagen once fear reported small by and satisfied hope.

Max.

(Use Key 9.)

[91. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Dec. 2.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

My hope small. Votes about as reported yesterday. Africa (probably McLin) satisfied by Bavaria (probably Cowgill) and fear that America (Drew) understands it. NOTHING BUT CASH WILL AVAIL. ANSWER my first of to-day at once. Thomas.

Coyle.

[92.]

New-York, 2d Dec., 6.

J.F. Coyle, Talla., Fla.:

Twenty one nineteen unless you have nineteen five again.

M.

[92. Translation.]

New-York, Dec. 2.

John F. Coyle, Tallahassee, Fla.:

Telegram received. Unless you have received — will remit again.

Havemeyer.

It is probable that the word "answer" followed "received," and has been lost. But what was Coyle's "first of to-day"? This, at least, though not signed, bears another name.

[93.]

Talla, 2.

Colonel Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

Certificate required to Moses decision have London hour for Bolivia of just and Edinburgh at Moselle had a any ever glasgow france rec'd. rus-sia of

[No sig.]

(Use Key 7.)

[93. Translation.]

Talla., Dec. 2.

Colonel Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

Have just received a proposition to hand over at any hour required Tilden decision of Board and certificate of Governor for \$200,000. Marble.

Did Mr. Marble or Mr. Coyle actually receive such a startling proposition? We do not believe it. Mr. McLin has sworn that such a proposition was made to him, not by him, and there has been a question of veracity on the matter between him and Mr. Marble, who denies that he had any talk with McLin on the subject. In the light of these dispatches, which is to be believed? Was it not one of the current political rumors of the time that Mr. Marble had said in a Democratic gathering, "McLin is a deserter from the Confederacy, and deserters can be bought"? But the question of grave importance is not whether Mr. Marble deceived others or himself, *but what had Gramercy Park to answer. This:*

[96.]

New-York, Dec. 3.

Manton Marble, Tallahassee, Fla.:

Warsaw here. Bolivia Brazil. (No sig.)

[96. Translation.]

New-York, Dec. 3.

Manton Marble, Tallahassee, Fla.:

Dispatch here. Proposition too high.(?) (No sig.)

Gramercy Park had reasons not known to Mr. Marble for considering his "Bolivia" decidedly "Brazil." For on the preceding day the following had come from Mr. Woolley:

[85.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Dec. 1st, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Sixteen Fetch may make thirteen, forty of half of a twelve eleven ten. Can you say two in nine immediately if twenty.

Fox.

[85. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Dec. 1.

H. Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Board fetch may make necessary expense of half of a hundred thousand dollars. Can you say will deposit in bank immediately if agreed.

Whatever significance may be given to the word

"fetch," which, it will be remembered, Mr. Havemeyer failed on a former occasion to understand, there can be very little doubt as to the meaning of the proposal. And the reply of Gramercy Park:

[87.]

2:25 p.m.

New-York, 1 Dec. 6.

C.W. Woolley, Talla., Fla.

Twenty one nineteen two ten twenty cannot however seven before twenty four thirty seven nineteen reply forty six. H.

[87. Translation.]

New-York, Dec. 1.

C.W. Woolley, Tallahassee, Fla.

Telegram received. Will deposit dollars agreed; (you) cannot, however, draw before vote member received.

We have no evidence that Mr. Havemeyer ever sent this damning answer, or that he ever read either the answer or the dispatch to which a reply signed "H." was sent. He received dispatches; it is probable that Gramercy Park read and answered them all. But it is now apparent why the Marble-Coyle \$200,000 "Bolivia" was not held good. Probably, Mr. Woolley learned that bargains were going on behind his back, for he telegraphed:

[94.]

Dec. 2., 76.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

More in select have have whom some you in confidence one winning evidently than— Fox.

(Use Key 4.)

[94. Translation.]

Dec. 2.

To Havemeyer.

Select some one in whom you have more confidence than you evidently have in Woolley.

Woolley.

The reply, signed "W.," might probably as well have been signed W.T. Pelton, and needs careful reading:

[95.]

New-York, Dec. 3.

C.W. Woolley, Talla., Fla.

Perfect you what power we could and answer you cannot belief declined all telegraphed do do all applications no in and stay private has you have needless other prevent here W.

(Use Key 9.)

[95—Translation.]

Dec. 3.

C.W. Woolley.

ALL HERE HAVE PERFECT CONFIDENCE IN YOU. We cannot prevent needless. — — NO OTHER HAS POWER, AND ALL APPLICATION DECLINED. STAY AND DO WHAT YOU TELEGRAPHED YOU COULD DO. PRIVATE. ANSWER. W.

"All here" at Gramercy Park—what does that mean? What was it that Mr. Woolley "telegraphed he could do," which needed not only the secrecy of a cipher, but the injunction "Private" within that cipher? Mr. Woolley was private—so private that the following dispatches, covering precisely the same proposition, went to Gramercy Park in two distinct ciphers.

[100.]

Talla., Fla., 3.

Colonel Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.

Preventing Moses best Bolivia or from Glasgow vote London documents united Rochester state half giving concurrence electors his cast being court either of in received of action for Havana.

[No sig.]

(Use Key No. 10, dropping "1" altogether. Number the first word 2, the second 3, and so on.)

[100. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Dec. 4.

Colonel W.T. Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

Proposition received either giving vote of Republican of Board, or his concurrence in Court action preventing electoral vote from being cast, for half hundred best United States documents. (for \$50,000 in U.S. notes.) Marble.

[105.]

Talla, Fla., 4.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Half twelve may less thirty eleven winning ten additional seven for give lieutenant sixteen Russia. Fox.

(Use key No. 4, and after transposition translate the numerals in accordance with their meaning, in all other dispatches in the same cipher.)

[85. Translation.]

Tallahassee, Dec. 1.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

May Woolley give hundred thousand dollars less

half for Tilden additional Board member?  
Lieutenant. Woolley.

There is not much room to doubt what either of these propositions mean. "Hundred thousand dollars less half," means exactly the same as "half hundred best United States documents." Ah! ye thieves! Hide your deeds under a dozen different ciphers, with shifting keys for each, known only to your secret thoughts, and yet the damning truth shall come out, and the black ineffaceable brand of THE GREAT FRAUD shall be fixed where it belongs, on you!

But these were only propositions. Did Gramercy Park reply? Instantly—but *this Nation was not doomed to the foul disgrace of having its Chief Magistracy sold at auction.* They who bartered and bargained counted "forces" with care, but they failed to count the Omnipotent. Devoured with anxiety, they waited. Wilkinson Call, Democratic candidate for Elector, telegraphed:

[101.]

Tallahassee, Dec. 4, '76.

W.T. Pelton, 59 Liberty-st, N.Y.:

Things culminating here. Answer Max's dispatch to-day. W. Call.

To Woolley came only this answer—to his impatient soul how torturing!

[102.]

New-York, Dec. 4, '6.

Talla., Fla., Dec. 4.

Col. C.W. Woolley.

*Act divided time twins him counsels each all important you in Warsaw other of you may say have or conjunction consult him loose will with and coincide you must Israel.*

[No signature.]

(Use Key No. 9)

[102. Translation]

N.Y., Dec. 4.

C.W. Woolley, Tallahassee, Fla.

See Israel and act in conjunction with him. You must coincide, or you will [unintelligible] each other. Have telegraphed him consult you. time important. Divided councils may lose all.

[No signature.]

Mr. Woolley rushed to "Israel," or "Moses," or Marble, but not one word had he received *except the following unintelligible dispatch:*

[97.]

New-York, 3.

Manton Marble, Tallahassee, Fla.:

*Lima should important in once be concert councils and better if trust you can fox done time him divided act only Bolivia with and consult here.*

[No signature.]

Mr. Marble could not read this. No one of the conspirators could read it. The day was slipping away, and the Board might decide on the morrow. Mr. Marble telegraphed:

[108.]

Dec. 3.

Col. Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

*Tell Spain to repeat his message in my cipher. It is unintelligible.* Manton Marble.

Meanwhile Mr. Woolley received the following:

[99.]

New-York, Dec. 4, '6.

Talla., Fla., Dec. 4.

Colonel C.W. Woolley:

*Given Rochester that have London will not fully advise you use reported so need Lima, Rhine to if us here.* W.

(Use Key No. 6.)

[99. Translation.]

Dec. 4.

C.W. Woolley, Tallahassee, Fla:

*Reported here that Board have given us one vote. If so you will not need to use acceptance. Advise fully.* [No sig.]

This plainly implied that power to draw and use money had been sent to somebody, but to whom? Mr. Woolley could not learn, and in hot haste he denied knowing anything about the "Rhine" (one) vote, or the "Lima" (acceptance) said to have been sent.

[112.]

Tallahassee, Fla., 5th, '76.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

*No one here knows meaning of words Lima Rhine.* Fox.

But at last came the answer to Manton Marble himself. Let "the keen bright sunlight of publicity" fall upon it, and show four millions of American freemen what sort of a man they voted to make President of these United States.

[109.]

New-York, Dec. 4, '6.  
Talla., Fla., 4.

Manton Marble:

Lima should important in once be concert council and letter if trust you then very no no Warsaw can Cox done time him divided act only Bolivia with and consult here. [No sig.]

(Use Key No. 9.)

[109. Translation.]

Dec. 4.

Manton Marble, Tallahassee, Fla.

Telegram here. Proposition accepted if done only once. Better consult with Woolley and act in concert. You can trust him. Time very important and there should be no divided councils. [No sig.]

Here, then, was the authority so anxiously awaited. Here was the authority implied, but not received, in the dispatch to Woolley. "If done only once," because *Woolley and Marble had sent the same proposition, and Gramercy Park did not want to pay twice for the same vote!* Sent, hours ago, in that unintelligible dispatch which Marble tortured all his keys trying to read, because *four words had dropped out of it in transmission, viz.: "then very no Warsaw (telegram)." Here was the order to buy one Presidency of these United States for "half hundred best United States documents."*

And the desired vote? The conspirators rushed out—and it was too late. The following dispatches tell the story:

[106.]

Talla., Fla., 4.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Saturday William if power joined forty further twenty have Charles necessary be Jane you late ten sixteen will with and six twenty 100 be against Secured five from advise appear. Fox.

(Use Key No. 10.)

[106. Translation.]

Dec. 4.

H. Havemeyer, New-York:

Power received too late. Twenty-five ten appear to have joined with board against contract from Saturday. Will be prompt and advise you farther if necessary. Jane Charles William. Woolley.

[111.]

Talla., Dec. 5, '76.

Colonel Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.:

Proposition failed. Finished yesterday afternoon

responsibility (as) those. Last night Woolley found me and said he had noting, which I knew already. Tell Tilden to saddle Blackstone (resort to legal proceedings.) Marble.

One secret yet remains: Had the conspirators reason for their hope? They can tell, if anybody will now believe them. Mr. Woolley's dispatch, nearly unintelligible, seems to imply a belief on their part that Attorney-General Cocke, who voted with the Republican members of the Board, to throw out Democratic fraudulent returns from Key West, had been influenced by "dollars." The one thing certain is, that the "dollars" were ready to make Samuel J. Tilden President, but the vote was not. Perhaps they came too late. But if, in the secret purpose of any trusted and sworn member of that Board of three, upon whose action depended the fate of forty millions of people, there lurked a thought of treachery and crime, the God of Nations saved this land from ruin and dishonor, for his lightnings refused, until it was too late, to bear intelligibly the shameful order to consummate the crime, and held their secret until the danger had passed. He who gave to the poor black in the dim Everglades of Florida the power to defend his rights by his vote; He who suffered Democratic fiends to hunt down black Republicans in Georgia and South Carolina until the very name of Democrat had become a terror to the colored men of adjoining States; He who inspired the newly enfranchised citizen to stand like a rock for justice, for equal rights and the honor of the Nation, when proud white citizens by the thousand wavered, voted blindly, or sold themselves. He also turned to foolishness all the schemes of Gramercy Park, and all the money of Wall-st. The secret cipher meant nothing when four words were gone. It came at last in full; the buyer stood ready and the money was there, but the vote was not delivered, and the Nation escaped disgrace.

In view of the facts presented, the following dispatches published at the time, with three others not yet translated, mutually illustrate each other:

[122.]

To Jas. Gordon Bennett, Herald, New-York.

Confidential: I assure you, upon my honor, that I cannot find any fraudulent Democratic voting in all Florida; that I can prove thousands of illegal Republican votes. Do not talk of partisanship in the face of infamous and fraudulent schemes that should make any honest man blush with shame to be a Republican. Manton Marble.

[127.]

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Scarify secured shear distances settle [settee] you advanced to husky heart affectationed with functionary sleeper sauce-box exempt tide-water undertaker [matched] [wretched] school plinth settee you scarify nascent bee-hive admonish upon implacable overhung worry underbrush plinth un land locked to unhandsomed sixteen twenty one twenty three kneel preëminenced your lightning.

[No sig.]

[123.]

Tallahassee, Fla., Dec. 3, '76.

W.R. Pelton, Everett House, New-York.

Our people will prove themselves by their firmness and forbearance worthy of the sympathy and confidence of the National Democracy and all good men of the North. We only ask in this crisis that the voice of the freemen of the North find such prompt and decisive expression as to compel the recognition of their rights. Telegraphic dispatches indicating this sentiment received here within the next forty-eight hours will be most potent in producing this result.  
J.J. Daniel.

[115.]

5 December, 1876.

W.T. Pelton, Everett House, N.Y.:

Impetuous paddle monody superexcellent oil to regret ruddy by punctilio sincere oil to Philippic stipendiary suet inconsolable absent still other your freestone duds venom bowl queen discontented superstructure gingers here.  
F.

[125.]

Talla, 2.

Wm. T. Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N.Y.

Calibra feted Geodesy. Linguist Kettledrum neat cattle.  
[No sig.]

[124.]

New-York, Dec. 5, '6.

J.J. Daniels, Talla., Fla.

The people of the North look with great anxiety to the final action of the Returning Board in your State to-morrow. All that is desired is a fair, honest count of the votes actually cast so that the will of a majority of your people, as expressed at the ballot box, shall prevail. To this end the country will sustain you in every lawful remedy. It is to be hoped that right and justice will prevail.  
W.T. Pelton.

### THE MACHINERY OF TRANSLATION

A few rods need to be added to what was yesterday printed, in regard to the mode of translating the dispatches from Florida. The keys for transposition, given by us yesterday, are referred to as there numbered, so that every reader can readily verify the correctness of translations. The dictionary of substituted words did not include some used only in Florida, in the main cipher, and is here repeated with those words added:

### THE VOCABULARY

The following list contains some of the substitution ciphers whose meaning seems to be distinctly proved. There are many more of which we feel quite confident: but we prefer to wait until we have an opportunity to put them to further test. We desire to give nothing in this table but what is proved.

- Asia . . . . . Secretary of State.
- Bolivia . . . . . Proposition.
- Brazil . . . . . Too high, or refused.
- Copenhagen . . Greenbacks.
- Denmark . . . . Pelton.
- France . . . . . Stearns (in main cipher).
- Fox . . . . . Woolley.
- Greece . . . . . Hayes.
- Havana . . . . . Radicals.
- Israel . . . . . Manton Marble, same as "Moses."
- Ithaca . . . . . Democrats.
- Lima . . . . . accept.
- London . . . . . Returning Board.
- Louis . . . . . Governor.
- Monroe . . . . . County.
- Moses . . . . . Manton Marble.
- Paris . . . . . draw.
- Petersburg . . . deposit.
- Rochester . . . . votes.
- Russia . . . . . Tilden.
- Spain . . . . . Either Mr. Tilden or Mr. Havemeyer.
- Syracuse . . . . majority.
- Utica . . . . . trading.
- Warsaw . . . . . telegraph.
- Winning . . . . . Woolley.
- W . . . . . C.W. Woolley.
- River . . . . . 0
- Rhine . . . . . 1.
- Moselle . . . . . 2.
- Thames . . . . . 3.
- Hudson . . . . . 4.
- Danube . . . . . 5.

Potomac . . . . . 6.  
 Schuylkill . . . . . 7.  
 Mississippi . . . . . 8.  
 Missouri . . . . . 9.  
 Glasgow . . . . . hundred.  
 Edinburgh . . . . . thousand.  
 Thomas  
 Jane  
 Anna  
 Charles  
 Daniel  
 Captain  
 Lieutenant

nulls.

Beside the main cipher, the interpretation of which is absolutely demonstrable, a second set of substituted words is used in eighteen dispatches relating mainly to transfers of small sums of money for expenses. The translation of some of those words, also, is so fully sustained by proof that entire certainty exists as to their meaning, but others are used on so few instances that the complete key to this cipher cannot be said to be surely ascertained. The following interpretation, however, has been tested first by its application to every dispatch in which that cipher is used, and second, by the connection of those dispatches thus translated with the mass of open dispatches, or those translated by the keys of assured correctness, and in every case the interpretation is found to fit exactly. We use it, nevertheless, not with the entire confidence to which other translations are entitled, though we believe it correct. It is applied in the dispatches numbered 20, 23, 26, 38, 39, 40, 51, 56, 66, 85, 87, 90, 92, 103, 105, 106, 107, 114. The following is the vocabulary used therein:

France . . . . . Two.  
 Italy . . . . . Three.  
 Greece . . . . . Four.  
 England . . . . . Five.  
 One . . . . . Telegraphic credit.  
 Two . . . . . Will deposit.  
 Three . . . . . Supply or provide.  
 Four . . . . . Have you arranged or deposited?  
 Five . . . . . Will send, or remit.  
 Six . . . . . Amount.  
 Seven . . . . . Draw, or draft.  
 Nine . . . . . Bank.  
 Ten . . . . . Dollars.  
 Eleven . . . . . Thousand.  
 Twelve . . . . . Hundred.  
 Thirteen . . . . . Necessary.  
 Sixteen . . . . . Canvassing Board.  
 Nineteen . . . . . Received.  
 Twenty . . . . . Agree, agreed, agreement.

Twenty-one . . . Telegraph.  
 Twenty-three . . . A bank (which, unknown.)  
 Twenty-four . . . Vote.  
 Twenty-seven . . . J.F. Coyle.  
 Thirty . . . . . Republicans.  
 Thirty-two . . . Canvassing.  
 Thirty-four . . . G.P. Raney.  
 Thirty-five . . . Requirements.  
 Thirty-seven . . . Member.  
 Forty . . . . . Expenses.  
 Forty-one . . . Paid, or protected.  
 Forty-six . . . . Prompt.

# THE NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1878.

## THE CAPTURED CIPHER DISPATCHES.

### HOW MR. TILDEN'S REPRESENTATIVES TRIED TO BUY THE VOTE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

#### THE TRAVELS OF SMITH M. WEED — THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH CAROLINA — A PLOT TO IMPRISON THE HAYES ELECTORS.

A great fraud, which the American people have not condoned, and never will condone—never, never, never! — Samuel J. Tilden. *Speech on the steps of No. 15 Gramercy Park*, Oct. 27, 1877.

The cause I have represented has embraced the largest and holiest interests of humanity. — [Samuel J. Tilden. *Speech at Gramercy Park*.

It is a greater crime against mankind than the usurpation of Dec. 2, 1851, depicted by the illustrious pen of Victor Hugo. The American people will not condone it under any pretext or for any purpose. — [Samuel J. Tilden. *Speech at Gramercy Park*.

Young men! will you mark these wrong-doers of 1876 with the indignation of a betrayed, wronged and sacrificed people! [A voice: "You bet we will."] — [Samuel J. Tilden, *Speech at Gramercy Park*.

The public interest in an honest, skilful performance of official trust must not be sacrificed to the usufruct of the incumbents. — [Samuel J. Tilden. *Letter Accepting the Presidential Nomination*, July 31, 1876.

Take it all in all—its origin, its extent, its wicked adroitness, its deliberation, the variety of characters engaged, its numberless perjuries and reckless forgeries, ... and it must be confessed that the Presidential fraud of 1876 is without a parallel in any history. It dwarfs all other frauds, conspiracies, and robberies into comparative insignificance. If allowed to go unpunished it will elevate perjury into a virtue, forgery into an art, and will reduce usurpation to a science. — [Hon. Benj. H. Hill. *Letter to R.C. Humber, of Georgia*, Oct. 2, 1878.

A few thousand dollars, and the whole atrocious conspiracy would have been bursted like a puff-ball and blown away in dust.—But I apologize for the suggestion. First, I apologize to Governor Tilden for confronting his character with the morally impossible. — [Manton Marble. *Letter on "The Electoral Commission."* Aug., 1878.

So that, besides a plan of campaign, here were "arsenals of ammunition" provided, and lethal weapons fashioned to the hand of every hater of fraud. — [Manton Marble. *Letter on "The Electoral Commission."*

The signal and peculiar mark of that plan was this: His absolute trust in moral forces; his entire faith in the people, their volitions and their power. And why, of all men in the United States, should not he? — [Manton Marble. *Letter on "The Electoral Commission."*

Always standing fast in the final citadel of power, the keen bright sunlight of publicity. — [Manton Marble. *Letter on "The Electoral Commission."*

The story of the secret operations of the Democratic managers in South Carolina comprises a series of frauds extending over the whole period from the first announcement of the vote in November until the actual assembling of the electoral colleges on December 6th. As soon as the critical condition of

The manipulation of the vote of South Carolina by the agents of Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1876, after that vote had been duly cast, differed in no essential particular from the transactions which we have already explained in Florida, except that the process passed through a greater variety of phases. There were three distinct acts in this drama of Democratic Reform, and the story of each act is told in a different cipher, by a different confidential negotiator. From the time when it became apparent that the decision of the contest depended upon the votes of the three doubtful States until the 18th of November, the communications between Gramercy Park and the capital of South Carolina were in the double transposition and substitution cipher which we have so fully explained, this difficult code being the one to which the most important secrets of the Democratic campaign appear to have been intrusted. On the 18th of November the agent who held the keys to this system left Columbia, and the cipher was abandoned. For one week after that, a new system of cryptography, of which we have thus far exhibited no specimens, was brought into use, for the arrangement of a new scheme. And finally a plot, which the special dispatches of *The Tribune* described at the time, in December, 1876, was discussed during the three or four days preceding the casting of the electoral votes on the first Wednesday of December, and for this business the same "dictionary cipher" which Paris used in Tallahassee was brought into play.

The first act was by far the most important of the three, and that the public may the more conveniently trace the course of the negotiations we

## TABLE OF KEYS.

[illegible]

To translate a dispatch by the same key used in writing it, number the words consecutively, 1, 2, 3, etc., and take them in the order of the numbers given in the table; for instance, in applying Key I. read the 9th word first, then the 3d, then the 6th, and so on. But the same dispatch can be translated by the correlative Key II. by writing over the words as they stand the sequence of numbers in the key, 4, 7, 2, etc., and then picking out the words so numbered in their regular order, 1, 2, 3, etc.

The Substitution Words, or arbitrary ciphers, have generally the same meaning as in the Florida dispatches. "America" is unquestionably Hampton. A telegram of the 15th of November reports "Russia [Tilden] from 1,800 to 2,000 behind America," and there are several other instances in which the meaning of the word is fixed not only by the sense of the contest, but by what we know of the events to which the dispatch refers. Of this interpretation, however, the reader will have abundant opportunity to judge for himself. "Africa" is just as clearly Chamberlain. "Europe" and "France" are used in a peculiar way. Sometimes it is evident that they stand for the Republican Governors of Louisiana and Florida, sometimes for the Republican party in those States, sometimes for the States themselves. For example, in a dispatch of November 15, the agent, after describing the situation in South Carolina, says: "Redouble your efforts in places where *Europe* and *France* live," i.e., where Kellogg and Stearns live—a form of circumlocution not unusual in these extraordinary telegrams; here the ciphers stand for persons. In another, the same correspondent advises Gramercy Park to "capture *Europe* and *France*," i.e., Louisiana and Florida, because there is not much hope in South Carolina: here the ciphers denote States. "Portugal" is a person whose identity we have not been able to establish; he is mentioned only once. "Chili" occurs twice, and the meaning of this word likewise is unknown. "Bremen" is found only once, but the context makes its signification almost obvious. We have ventured to interpret it "Commissioner" (County Election Commissioner, or Supervisor), but this is to be understood as a conjecture, and to be taken for what the reader may judge it to be worth.

#### VOCABULARY.

Africa . . . . .	Chamberlain
America . . . . .	Hampton
Bavaria . . . . .	?
Bremen . . . . .	Commissioner

Chicago . . . . .	cost
Chili . . . . .	?
Copenhagen . . .	dollars
Denmark . . . . .	Colonel Pelton
Europe . . . . .	Louisiana
Europe . . . . .	Governor Kellogg
France . . . . .	Florida
France . . . . .	Governor Stearns
Greece . . . . .	Hayes
Ithaca . . . . .	Democrats
Lima . . . . .	approved
London . . . . .	Canvassing Board
Louis . . . . .	Governor
Monroe . . . . .	county
Petersburg . . . .	deposit
Portugal . . . . .	?
Rochester . . . . .	votes
Russia . . . . .	Tilden
Syracuse . . . . .	majority
Utica . . . . .	trading
Vienna . . . . .	payable
Warsaw . . . . .	telegraph, telegram.

#### Numbers:

River . . . . .	0
Rhine . . . . .	1
Moselle . . . . .	2
Thames . . . . .	3
Hudson . . . . .	4
Danube . . . . .	5
Potomac . . . . .	6
Schuylkill . . . .	7
Mississippi . . . .	8
Missouri . . . . .	9
Glasgow . . . . .	hundred
Edinburgh . . . . .	thousand.

#### Dumb words, or "nulls."

Anna
Captain
Charles
Jane
Jones
Lieutenant
Thomas
William

#### THE SITUATION.

The first returns from South Carolina in November, 1876, gave the State to the Democrats, but within a few days the aspect of the situation greatly changed. It soon appeared that the vote on Governor was close, and that Tilden's vote was considerably behind Hampton's. So uncertain was the result that on the 11th of November, four

days after the election, General Wade Hampton telegraphed to New-York that his own majority was about 1,400, and that of Tilden somewhat less, while Governor Chamberlain at the same time telegraphed that after giving the Democrats everything that they could plausibly claim, the Republicans still had a majority of 3,200 on the Presidential electors and 2,100 on the State ticket. Other Republican authorities claimed a majority in the State of 7,000 for Hayes, and 5,500 for Chamberlain. The fact was that returns on their face (as it afterward appeared), gave the victory to the Republicans by a pretty close vote; but in two counties, Edgefield and Laurens, the fraud, violence and intimidation had been so flagrant that there was little doubt the Canvassing Board would throw out their entire vote, and this would put both Hayes and Chamberlain very far ahead. The Canvassing Board consisted of H.E. Hayne, Secretary of State; T.C. Dunn, Controller General; William Stone, Attorney General; F.L. Cardozo, State Treasurer; H.W. Purvis, Adjutant and Inspector General; and M.J. Hirsch, Chairman of the House Committee on Privileges and Elections. All these officers were Republicans; Hayne, Cardozo and Purvis were colored men. Hirsch was a candidate for the office of Solicitor of the Third District, and did not act with the Board, which was thus reduced to five members. It was the duty of the board to receive and canvass the returns of the County Election Commissioners for Presidential Electors, Members of Congress, Members of the Legislature, and all State officers except Governor and Lieutenant-Governor: the votes for these two officers were to be canvassed by the new Legislature.

The chance of Tilden's securing South Carolina under these circumstances appeared so slight that when Mr. Marble, Mr. Woolley, Mr. Coyle, and the other eminent Democrats dispersed themselves over the South for the purpose of "watching the count," the public apparently forgot to observe who took charge of South Carolina, and the daily papers which fully reported the movements of the gentlemen who visited New-Orleans and Tallahassee, omitted to record the names of the committee detailed to proceed to Columbia. Several eminent Democrats, however, had reached the capital of South Carolina by the middle of the month. Among them were Senator and ex-Governor T.F. Randolph, of New-Jersey, Senator John B. Gordon, of Georgia, Montgomery Blair, A.H.H. Stewart and Captain G.N. Fox, ex-Assistant Secretary of the Navy. But it was to none of these gentlemen that Mr. Tilden intrusted the real business of the campaign. Most of them ap-

pear to have confined their activity to the management of legal proceedings in the State Supreme Court, to a supervision of the proceedings of the Returning Board, and to other legitimate actions; and it is almost certain that ex-Governor Randolph at any rate—to say nothing of the others—had no suspicion that "a still hunt" was going on all the while, under daily instructions from Gramercy Park. The person selected for this delicate duty was Mr. Smith M. Weed, who has long been one of Mr. Tilden's closest political friends, and who figured conspicuously at the Syracuse Convention as the foremost representative of the Victim of Fraud and the Champion of Reform. The error which caused so much confusion in Florida, where Marble and Woolley seem to have been bidding against each other for the same member of the Returning Board, was avoided in the South Carolina case. Perhaps because this was a specially difficult job, Mr. Tilden committed it to the discretion of his most experienced and energetic man, and left him wholly unembarrassed by any colleagues. And Mr. Weed, it will be seen, went about the work in a much more quiet and efficient way than the poly-syllabic and high-shouldered "Moses."

The Canvassing Board was required by an old law, passed at a time when elections were held in October, to meet on the 10th of November, and complete the count in ten days. On the 10th, of course, the returns were not in, and the board could only adjourn from day to day while awaiting them. It fixed upon the 16th as the time for beginning the count of Presidential returns. This would give it six days to finish the canvass, as (allowing for two Sundays) its existence would terminate at noon on the 22d.

#### THE SECRET AGENT ARRIVES.

On the 10th of November Mr. Smith M. Weed was in the Democratic Committee Rooms at the Everett House, in New-York, where he made the impressive remark to a reporter of *The Herald*: "It is very close, but we have carried the Union *honestly*, and that is the whole thing in a nutshell—we have carried it honestly." He appears to have left the city that afternoon, for on the following day he is known to have been on the same train with John F. Coyle, ("Max,") going South, and on the 12th he was at Raleigh, N.C., where it was alleged at the time in a dispatch to a New-York paper he registered at the hotel under an assumed name. Coyle meanwhile had gone on to Charleston, whence he sends a cipher dispatch to Mr. Henry Havemeyer, New-York, stating that the

counting of the votes of South Carolina will begin at Columbia on the 16th, and adding: "Telegraphed W. to go there." On Monday the 13th, the South Carolina Canvassing Board perfected its organization, and the same day Mr. Weed arrived on the field of action. The promptness and evident relish with which he set about the affair upon which he had been sent, must have satisfied Gramercy Park that here was the right man in the right place. "Moses," before he got down to the business of bribery, filled a bushel measure with cipher telegrams about "frauds" and "infernal scoundrels," and the ringing of the "fire-bell in the night," and complaints of Woolley and Pelton. The secret agent in New-Orleans protests that "Rip has no common sense," and that "Bryant will stand no damned foolishness." But Mr. Smith M. Weed goes straight to the point, and in a dispatch of truly commercial brevity announces at once his arrival and the state of trade. Here is his first telegram, addressed according to custom to Mr. Havemeyer, but undoubtedly intended for Colonel Pelton:

[1.]

Columbia, Nov. 13.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., New-York:

Very news say Copenhagen to from can Florida you count much in be give what Louisiana am placed if mixed insure London Oregon few intend things out a us here. Weed.

(Use transposition key IX.)

[Translation.]

Am here. Things very much mixed. Intend to count us out. *If a few dollars can be placed in Returning Board [to] insure, what say you?* Give news from Louisiana, Oregon, Florida.

Although the dispatch was addressed to Mr. Havemeyer, it was answered by "Denmark," and Denmark, as we stated the other day in printing the Florida dispatches, is proved to be Colonel Pelton. It is generally understood that Mr. Havemeyer's name was used only as a blind, and that all cipher telegrams sent to his residence were immediately handed over to Pelton, Mr. Havemeyer being probably ignorant of their contents. The New-York bureau was still without definite news from the other States, and Mr. Weed's question about money was evaded.

[2.]

New-York, Nov. 13.

To Smith Weed, Columbia:

Those results advise Warsaw Rhine well watched Chili Florida and instantly as progress closely be gives they States unless are Carolina us—Edinburgh count received Louisiana out being Mississippi. Denmark.

(Use key X.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received. [A word illegible] be Chili. Louisiana gives eight thousand, Florida one, unless they count us out. Those States, as well as Carolina, are being closely watched. Advise instantly progress and results.

Mr. Weed, however, pressed his inquiry about the money for the Canvassing Board.

[3.]

Columbia, Nov. 13.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Me you do did to question when you you to morning asked want where go supposed this until come to-night important and answer here Warsaw adjourned to-morrow London you. W.

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

Supposed you telegraphed me to come here. Did you? Board adjourned until to-morrow. *Answer question asked this morning important to-night.* Where do you want you [me] to go, and when?

"Denmark's" answer was perhaps not quite so explicit as it ought to have been; but, as we shall see, Mr. Weed had gone ahead in his trade, without waiting for it:

[4.]

New-York, Nov. 14.

Smith Weed, Columbia:

Will Utica and Thomas Chicago Warsaw you prevent keep America what here do often means fully exhaust with to every advise Lima remain the be. Denmark.

(Use Key VII.)

[Translation.]

Telegram here. Remain with Hampton [i.e. in South Carolina] and exhaust every means to prevent trading. *The expense [of] what you do will be met.* Keep fully advised often. Thomas.

In the meantime the public had been led to believe that Mr. Tilden meant to conduct his

South Carolina campaign entirely by the machinery of the law. While Mr. Smith M. Weed was feeling around the canvassers, the avowed counsel for the Democratic party were arguing in the State Supreme Court. They first submitted their case to the Board of Canvassers, urging that the board had no power to revise, correct, or throw out any returns, but must only act ministerially in tabulating the figures reported to them by the county commissioners; the statutes conferring upon the board a quasi-judicial authority the Democrats held to be unconstitutional. It was hoped that the returns as they stood would elect a Democratic Legislature; the Legislature would count in the Governor; and the further plan (not disclosed until later) was that the Democratic State Government thus established should assume the right to reverse the expected decision of the Canvassing Board in favor of the Hayes electors and install the Tilden electors. Pending the consideration by the board of this theory as to its powers, the Democratic counsel applied to the State Supreme Court, November 14, for writs of prohibition and mandamus to restrain the board from exercising judicial functions and to prevent Dunn, Cardozo and Hayne, who were candidates for reelection, from passing upon their own cases. Thursday, the 16th, was the day set for beginning the electoral count, was also the day appointed for the argument on the mandamus.

#### BUSINESS.

Mr. Smith M. Weed seems to have cared very little about these forensic contests, believing that the desired result could be more surely reached by another road. He continued his still-hunt, and before receiving Colonel Pelton's dispatch No. 4, he put the following upon the wires:

[5.]

Columbia, Nov. 13.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Absolutely Petersburg can procured be Copenhagen may Thomas prompt Edinburgh must if river take be you less London Thames will. W.

(Use Key VI.)

[Translation.]

If Returning Board can be procured absolutely, will you deposit 30,000 dollars? May take less. Must be prompt. Thomas.

Colonel Pelton's reply to this inquiry has not been found; but the nature of it is plain enough from Mr. Weed's rejoinder:

[6.]

Columbia, Nov. 14.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

To situation prospects and Africa desperate intend Thames soon Europe report every mischief the Warsaw in dispatch in acting this will state all concert morning parties France in and received.

W.

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

Dispatch received. *Parties to report this morning.* Chamberlain, Kellogg and Stearns acting in concert, and intend mischief in every State. Will telegraph prospect soon. The situation desperate in all three.

It is to be observed that Smith Weed never flattered Mr. Tilden with assurances that he had carried the State of South Carolina, or any other of the doubtful States. He was evidently in telegraphic communication with his fellow-laborers in New-Orleans and Tallahassee, so that "Africa, Europe and France" were not the only persons who "acted in concert" and "intended mischief." And while Mr. Marble was protesting that Florida rightfully belonged to the Democrats, and that they were rascals who would keep it from him, and that he would "put Uncle Sammy through and end the reign of thieves," Weed invariably admitted that "Uncle Sammy" *had failed to get enough votes*. While every Democratic paper and Democratic orator throughout the land was claiming that Tilden had carried South Carolina, and Hampton was telegraphing a similar assertion to the New-York press, Smith M. Weed dispatched a very different sort of intelligence to Gramercy Park. Remember that Hampton himself only claimed a majority of 1,400, and then read the following:

[7.]

Columbia, Nov. 14.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Figure France capture and over what see answer Europe Moselle Russia shall little and appearances about best hope Glasgow will up keep Oregon America be can Potomac behind Edinburgh I.

W.

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

Best I can figure, Tilden will be over 2,600 behind Hampton, and see little hope; shall keep up appearances. Capture Louisiana and Florida. What about Oregon? Answer.

The Oregon scheme was set on foot just at this time. Mr. Marble telegraphed to Governor Grover about the end of November, suggesting that a certificate should be withheld from the post-office elector in that State, evidently supposing that the idea was novel and important; but the plot had already been working for a fortnight, and had nearly reached the point of "purchasing a Republican elector to recognize and act with" Cronin, when Moses offered his advice. The hand of ex-Senator Gwin, "Duke Gwin," appears in the early part of the Oregon maneuvers. We saw it the other day in Florida. It appears repeatedly in South Carolina. "Draw on me for whatever you need," he telegraphed to Wade Hampton, two days after the election; and later we shall meet with mysterious references to "Gwin's plan," by which at the very last moment South Carolina was to be taken away from the Republican column. Wherever there were secret transactions in those days, we heard of Duke Gwin.

On the 14th of November Mr. Pelton received discouraging news from Louisiana. Nothing had yet been done in Florida, Marble and Coyle being somewhere on the road between Jacksonville and Tallahassee. The situation indeed looked dark. Weed's "parties" probably did not "report" as promptly as he expected in the morning, and from the following curt message he appears to have lost patience with them:

[8.]

Columbia, Nov. 14.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Warsaw they read all unchanged last are idiots can't situation. W.

(Use Key 1.)

[Translation.]

Can't read last telegram. Situation unchanged. They are all idiots.

Moreover Mr. Weed's movements began to excite suspicion in Columbia, and his position grew uncomfortable. He proposed to hurry matters, and then to turn over the negotiation to somebody else:

[9.]

Columbia, Nov. 14.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15. West 17th-st., N.Y.

Things our yet working but, party are believe dont America, Russia nothing claims trading I, here off definite party mixed. Seem I select if party, in Edinburgh to Danube required, disturb proceedings good dont shall, to increase it, man

sure, Africa river make to court, as watched to better way down think over as turn, is send Louis required am, that and to Randolph here, only well matter if if. W.

(Use Key VI; then Key VIII, twice.)

[Translation.]

Nothing definite yet, but working. Things mixed here. Our party claims Hampton party are trading off Tilden. I don't believe it. Proceedings in court don't seem to disturb Chamberlain party. Shall I increase to \$50,000 if required, to make sure? Select good man to send down if required, as that is the only way. *Am watched*, and if as well think better turn over matter here to Governor Randolph.

DENMARK ACCEPTS.

The answer this time was prompt and positive; for Gramercy Park too was becoming uneasy:

[10.]

New-York, Nov. 14.

Smith Weed, Columbia:

River can Warsaw Danube further go here to perhaps prospects if you for use necessary trust assist should some done person others must not to be to able and you that doubt it I name you you but is whether part see can Kennedy Utica on him here when advised with leaving you me see Potomac friend to-night train think reach what Russia Warsaw through go Syracuse you keep the do can is on conclusion. Denmark.

(Use Key IV; then Key X twice.)

[Translation.]

Telegram here. You can go to fifty if necessary. Perhaps use future prospects for some part, but you must see that trading is not done. I doubt whether you can trust it to person you name. Kennedy and others should be able to assist. When do you think you can reach conclusion? Keep me advised. Telegraph what the majority is on Tilden. Friend will go through on train leaving here six to-night. See him.

"You can go to fifty if necessary; perhaps use future prospects for some part." Was it not in the famous letter of Mr. Manton Marble on the Electoral Count that we read a scarifying denunciation of the infamy that would reward the "deputized go-betweens and real principals in the crime of reversing the actual returns," not merely with "the

purchaser's own funds," but with "more immoral payments—public offices possessed through a crime and then prostituted for its reward," etc.

The reference to Governor Randolph in the two dispatches last quoted deserves a word of mention. Weed evidently did not know the character of that honorable and straightforward gentleman. Colonel Pelton evidently did. "Denmark" was prudent not to "trust" such a man with an affair of bribery. And that Governor Randolph knew nothing of this secret business, and had no intimacy with Smith Weed is evident from the following telegram dated only a day later, and bearing his initials, which shows that he supposed nothing was doing in South Carolina, just when the negotiations for the purchase of that State were coming to a head. It will be noticed that in reckoning up the Democratic workers he has not mentioned Weed. The message is not in cipher:

[11.]

Columbia, Nov. 15.

Colonel W.T. Pelton, Everett House, N.Y.:

Stuart has gone home; Blair has to return to-morrow; Fox probably. This leaves me. I again repeat that this most important point is overlooked. Louisiana overcrowded. You cannot estimate the importance of sending a few well-known influential men by to-night's train. Argument before Court will run through Friday, and perhaps Saturday. We feel very well. T.F.R.

"Overlooked"! We hardly think so. But it may be doubted whether the Reformer in Gramercy Park "felt very well" when the following frank statement of his defeat came from his confidential man at Columbia:

[12.]

Columbia, Nov. 15.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Careful returns of received copies from examination Warsaw out Monroe Moselle Moselle certified Rhine Thames America Glasgow Rhine state Rhine of Ithaca behind Russia officers by estimate Mississippi show Hudson elected Syracuse and Glasgow from about and America and balance full and as change exactly Edinburgh to in compel front and Moselle to have to-night returns it to power to-morrow know us court may shall state if over and electors we can Utica clearly hope to-night of we get certain their London London as officers out Russia the also Rochester can will a as defeat the we London Moselle for of its districts although of Schuylkill it Syracuse uncertain save here all France in this care efforts where

redouble places America don't live stay is with secret they Thomas and Louis your Europe here to. W.

(Use Key III; then Key VIII twice; then Key VI; then Key VIII again twice.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received. Careful examination certified copies returns from 21 out of 32 counties, and estimate of balance, show Hampton elected by about 1,400 majority, and Tilden and Democratic State officers behind Hampton from 1,800 to 2,000. Shall have full returns and know exactly to-night, and *it may compel us to change front in court to-morrow as to power of Canvassing Board over electors and State officers*; then, if, as we hope, *we can get Board to-night certain*, [by] clearly [merely?] trading districts we can save two out of the seven votes for Tilden. It's uncertain, as it will defeat a majority of the Board, although they don't care to stay here with Hampton Governor. *This is all secret here*. Redouble your efforts in places where Kellogg and Stearns live [i.e. Louisiana and Florida.]

This dispatch contains 135 words, and lest Colonel Pelton should be unnecessarily bothered by the combination of keys necessary to make it out, Weed sent another cipher message right after it, as follows:

[13.]

Columbia, Nov. 15.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., New-York:

First then long river Danube Warsaw Schuylkill Thomas read Potomac. W.

(Use Key I.)

[Translation.]

Read long telegram—first sixty-five; then seventy. Thomas.

The "long telegram" is so full of matter for reflection that we hope no one will fail to give it a most careful reading. Like all the rest of Mr. Smith Weed's confidential communications, there is a plainness about it which is almost refreshing. This veteran politician is not the victim of enthusiasms or delusions. Never for one moment does he pretend to believe that his client has a good cause. Never for one moment does he conceal from the "claimant" the ugly truth that his case is a desperate one, and that the majority of South Carolina is unequivocally against him. He

has the grace to say nothing of "fraud," but he goes about his purchases in a plain, matter of fact way, and discusses rascalities as if they were the ordinary incidents of business. The Democratic party, through its lawyers in Columbia and its newspaper organs all over the Union, wrought itself to a white heat in maintaining that returning officers could only act ministerially and that it was a monstrous invention of Radical villany to assert that the duty of a Canvassing Board is to canvass. To this day the Democrats hold to the same idea. But here, in the very vortex of the excitement, Mr. Tilden's own man sits down quietly to count the returns "on their face," and finding that Mr. Tilden is defeated, even when the votes of the bull-dozed counties are included, he telegraphs: "This may compel us to change front in court to-morrow as to power of Canvassing Board over electors and State officers," and to rest all hopes of victory upon "getting the board." As soon as they "got" the board, they were ready to turn right about face, and claim for it the very powers which they were then begging the court to forbid its exercising. And this, as we shall see in the sequel, is what they actually did! The Democrats of South Carolina will be edified by the discovery that Mr. Smith Weed proposed, after "getting" the board, to count in Tilden by sacrificing some of the local candidates; and there are several indications, in the course of the correspondence, that the relations between the Tilden clique and the Hampton managers were by no means cordial or confidential.

#### "GETTING THE BOARD, CERTAIN."

The arrangements for "getting the Board, certain," seem to have met with entire approbation in New-York, although, with characteristic caution, Mr. Pelton's principal urged Weed to "try and make one portion payable after votes are cast, and another portion after final result," adding some touching observations on the subject of "good faith." To the scheme for "trading districts," however, he saw awkward objections, and being a man who values consistency, he expressed his views in a dispatch which would have done credit to Jack Bunsby:

[14.]

New-York, Nov. 16.

Smith Weed, Columbia.

Be decision undoubtedly should be lost but favorable sustainable is had Warsaw to and upon it good there which ground would and here could consistent satisfied impossible it is sustain involve

must inconsistencies upon else you electing be issue involved which would or in be papers action America to that [words omitted] Utica doubtless Vienna justified Rochester make portion all after by are result try after is and and prevented final another facts portion and important Lima there done these good are guarantee and but conditions faith very want some what should intended sufficient be you result is both Warsaw.

Denmark.

(Use Key VII four times.)

[Translation.]

Last telegram here. There is undoubtedly good ground upon which favorable decision could be had, but to be consistent and sustainable, it would and should involve electing Hampton, or else it would be involved in inconsistencies impossible to sustain. You must be satisfied that action upon which papers issue is justified by facts, and all trading is prevented. Try and make [one] portion payable after votes are [cast], and another portion after final result. Doubtless good faith is intended; but there should be some sufficient guarantee accepted. Both these conditions are very important. Telegraph result, and what you want done.

[15.]

Columbia, Nov. 17.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York:

For this Warsaw the any way misunderstood all state take Ithaca is have definite Warsaw and America plan must soon will sure its officers would former.

S.

(Use Key VIII.)

[Translation.]

Must have misunderstood former telegram, for Hampton is sure any way, and this plan would take in all the Democratic State officers. Will telegraph definite[ly] soon.

We print No. 15 here because it is evidently a reply to No. 14; but the messages often crossed one another on the way, and before the above lines were sent Mr. Weed seems to have recorded the decay of his hopes in the following communication:

[16.]

Columbia, Nov. 16.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York:

France Moselle over man greatest river with am Rhine exertions is there full in not here am power

made state are chances but you where that be have should confident Rhine to morning in France be concert success is are Africa I the all this conditional working authority communication Europe for Warsawed on act and that close and in for.

S.

(Use Key IX twice.)

[Translation.]

Am confident that Florida is State where greatest exertions should be made. Have you man with full power there? Chances are not over one in twenty here, but am working for that one. Chamberlain, Kellogg and Stearns, are in close communication, and act in concert. The authority I telegraphed for this morning all to be conditional on success.

### COMING TO TERMS.

He worked so well for "that one chance" that he was able on the same day to report progress. The argument on the mandamus was set for the 16th, and on the night of the 15th Weed succeeded in obtaining from certain members of the Canvassing Board a definite proposition, though the terms were higher than he had been led to expect.

[17.]

Columbia, Nov. 16.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Too last do received answer night late Warsaw understand me don't want to quite you France Schuylkill Thames for night to Copenhagen us river giving late go electors of demand London Danube to the or last river Moselle river home think do least party shall want America to aid who river will are besides I Rhine get interceder in-different the what from say no something. W.

(Use Key III; then Key VIII twice.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received too late to answer last night. Don't quite understand. Do you want me to go to home of Stearns [Florida]? Board late last night demanded 73,000 dollars for giving us two or three electors. The interceder will want something besides: think ten (thousand). What shall I do? Get no aid from Hampton party, who, to say the least, are indifferent.

Mr. Pelton's answer needs not one word of comment:

[18.]

New-York, Nov. 16.

Smith Weed, Columbia.

Lima should Hudson to London be Warsaw willing Africa unite believe here to and if to it this prevent of best fix was success leave contingently France or can Chicago dependent in think Russia if soil am and final March Utica made inclined you on can't Jane to night open immediately to condition reliable France Anna Captain others Lieutenant exact in you that get see give go friends or visit our safely hands remain me better. D.

(Use Key IV; then X twice.)

[Translation.]

Four telegrams here. Should be willing to accept, believe, if Chamberlain and Board unite to prevent trading and expense was made dependent on final success of Tilden in March. Am inclined to think Florida best soil. If you can fix this contingently or leave it open safely, or in reliable hands, you better visit Florida immediately. See that our friends remain; can't get others to go. Give me exact condition to-night. Captain Lieutenant Anna Jane.

The first agreement was for two or three of the electoral votes, to be obtained, we presume, by the process of trading districts, hinted at in Dispatch No. 12. Further negotiation was necessary in consequence of Pelton's insisting that the obligation should be made "contingent on the result in March." To this the Board officers would not consent, but they agreed to give good measure, provided they got prompt pay, and to turn over all the seven electoral votes of South Carolina instead of the two or three originally promised.

[19.]

Columbia, Nov. 16.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.

Now bring safe river thing stuff river Warsaw man would as all Copenhagen to have on Warsaw for Schuylkill though Rochester Schuylkill receiving river the looks at Danube work received now London regular make him and it the certificates with I March depend of on other in on Baltimore will would but officers not meet think at could party morning that stakes to-night Thames have, and which but they agreed Moselle majority is set report I exact a consulting of will and assented the London is are with and status Warsawed answer Warsaw to spare me go definite you no Africa but to to-night and soon can France late to-day see will and me to Portugal its for Chicago withdraw S.

(Use Key IX four times.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received. Looks now as though the thing would work at 75,000 dollars for all seven votes. *Have safe man to bring stuff on receiving telegram, in morning. Think now I will meet him with party at Baltimore. Could not make it depend on March, but would on regular certificates of Board and other officers. The exact status is that two of the Board have agreed and are consulting with the third, which is a majority and will report to-night. They set stakes and I assented but can withdraw.* Portugal telegraphed me to-day to spare no cost. It's late for me to go to Florida but will see and telegraph you to-night. Answer me soon and definitely.

[20.]

Columbia, Nov. 17.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Waiting its very anxiously until receipt your am time decision am expect Warsaw powerless important have let to-day you if I will Thomas immediately and France from go go answer elsewhere to court his certainty. W.

(Use Keys III and VI.)

[Translation.]

Am anxiously waiting your telegram. Until its receipt am powerless. Time very important. Expect decision from court to-day. If you have certainty elsewhere let this go, and I will go to Florida. Answer immediately. Thomas.

[21.]

New-York, Nov. 17.

Smith Weed, Columbia:

Morning Jones Thames here Danube Warsaw Anna Thomas of Captain speak Moselle full Warsaw when Charles this received before left. H.

(Use Key V.)

[Translation.]

Telegram of 35 [words] here. Full telegram left before 2 this morning; speak when received. Thomas Charles Jones Captain Anna.

Unfortunately we have not found this "full telegram," but the nature of it may be inferred with perfect assurance from the alacrity of Mr. Weed's rejoinder:

[22.]

Columbia, Nov. 17.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York:

See Moselle try received perhaps hours parties Warsaw will conditions before get instantly answer and S.

(Use Key III.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received. [Will?] see parties instantly, perhaps two hours before answer. Will try and get conditions.

### ON THE RAGGED EDGE.

It is an interesting circumstance that although the negotiator apparently entertained no doubt of the "good faith" of the persons with whom he was dealing, he had little confidence in the value of the proposed purchase, and he constantly pressed his principals in New-York to buy elsewhere if they could. For one thing, he was embarrassed by the line of argument which the Democratic counsel had adopted in the mandamus case. Since his "careful examination" of the votes had revealed the "desperate" character of the situation, showing that Hayes was elected even on the face of the county returns, *there was nothing he dreaded so much as that the Court might grant the writ which his own party asked for*, and prohibit the Board from exercising judicial functions. If it did this, and the Board obeyed, there would be no possibility of delivering the purchased votes; and to "change front in court" at this stage of the proceedings was not easy, even supposing that the lawyers, who were probably not aware of the secret negotiations, were willing to agree to it. This was a serious hitch in the arrangement.

[23.]

Columbia, Nov. 17.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Yet will have closed not act ministerially arrangements other to prevent my London which unless court may parties compel fear works Chili of Monroe Rhine, simply left Blair certainty Randolph with no a and otherwheres hope Bremen for press. W.

(Use Key VI, twice.)

[Translation.]

My parties have not closed yet. Fear Court will compel Returning Board to act ministerially, which may prevent, unless other arrangement with commissioners of one county works. Press otherwheres Chili, for no certainty here, simply a hope. Randolph and Blair left.

The case was argued on the 16th, and on the 17th the Court issued an intermediary order, instructing the board to "canvass" the returns ministerially, in order to save time, and then to report the result to the Court. This was not a final decision of the cause; it only provided for a tabulation of the figures as they stood, leaving open the question of the power of the board to revise and correct them. The work of tabulation was performed immediately, and showed a majority for the Hayes electors ranging from 230 to 1,133, the average being 800, and a majority for Hampton of 1,144. And hereupon the Democratic counsel did promptly "change front in court" and demand that the board should be instructed to go behind the returns and correct "manifest errors" by the precinct reports which were in their possession! It is supposed that this was giving them just rope enough to let in Tilden but not enough to endanger the Democratic State ticket by allowing them to reject the intimidated counties of Edgefield and Laurens.

The way being thus cleared, Smith Weed pushed his negotiations zealously. The following is not transposed:

[24.]

Columbia, Nov. 17.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Still hangs by the gills. Will Warsaw [telegraph] later. S.

## THE CONTRACT CLOSED.

And then comes the long delayed announcement of success:

[25.]

Columbia, Nov. 18.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Have Rhine river as is of follows Edinburgh river Mississippi been of Rhine Copenhagen river Rhine Syracuse parcel to secured Danube Potomac river sent to Chicago London Edinburgh be river of Danube Rochester given notes be of to America up Danube Edinburgh as be upon and land and Petersburg Rhine all Lima parties of Amsterdam to of or Edinburgh Glasgow Rhine Russia's secure shall to-night packs every unless the try should friends Warsaw you to countermanding thing being receive without the me from by and Thames to sent inscription be given the for intimidation I and God's fear it of Bavaria friends and their London and sake plan Copenhagen in of watching careful let and Africa Petersburg here force are of can whether night and France it have done War-

saw or be to Copenhagen decided Sunday will go ready this safe Baltimore reach be once in you do at Africa if. W.

(Use Key IX, five times.)

[Translation.]

Majority of Board have been secured! Cost is 80,000, to be sent as follows: One parcel of 65,000 dollars, one of 10,000, and one of 5,000; all to be five hundred or one thousand bills; notes to be deposited as parties accept, and given up upon vote of land of Hampton [i.e., State of South Carolina] being given to Tilden's friends. The three packs should be sent without inscription, and to-night, unless you receive telegram from me countermanding. Shall try to secure everything by the plan of deposit. The friends of Hampton and Bavaria [?] are here in force, and I fear their money and careful watching and intimidation of Board. For God's sake let it go if you can. Be safe in Florida or Africa\* [?]. Do this at once, and have cash ready to reach Baltimore Sunday night. Telegraph decidedly whether it will be done. W.

\* Possibly a slip of the pen for "America," which would be understood in the sense of South Carolina.

The answer seems to have been somewhat tardy, but Mr. Smith Weed made his preparations to start, and in the meantime he telegraphed again:

[26.]

Columbia, Ala., Nov. 18.

Henry Havemeyer, 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

For my result do yourself mind it definite doubtful if B. its sure to but must shall and say meet trying worth get will me to-night London they prudent leave o'clock their Thames [—] by lowest Missouri change river London, statement of Glasgow of Moselle errors answer Rhine face of within Russia's can Syracuse Rochester Mississippi on Greece show before. S.

(Use Key IX., twice.)

[Translation.]

Shall leave to-night for B. Meet me yourself, if prudent. *Returning Board say they will do it, sure,* and it's worth trying, but result doubtful to my mind. Must get definite answer before 8 o'clock. Statement of votes by Returning Board shows on face Hayes majority [of?] 800; one of Tilden's [electors] within 230 of their lowest. Errors can change.

The majorities given in this telegram correspond exactly with the figures reported in the New-York papers of the 19th—an agreement which may be taken as evidence of the correctness of our keys to the cipher.

No doubt Mr. Smith Weed did get the “definite answer” he desired “before 8 o’clock,” for he broke out in the following exultant dispatch:

[27.]

Columbia, Nov. 18.

Henry Havemeyer, No. 15 West 17th-st., N.Y.:

Have at now must you, early Monday to-night  
ten Baltimore go looks in morning at Copenhagen  
I well Barnums the W.

(Use Key VI.)

[Translation.]

*Looks well now!* You must have the money at  
Barnum’s in Baltimore early Monday morning. I  
go at ten to-night.

And he went. The New-York papers of the 19th of November contained a dispatch from Columbia, saying:

Smith Weed, who has been here since Tuesday, looking after Tilden’s interests, leaves to-night for the North.

### III.

#### THE SECOND ACT.

“Hotel arrivals, Baltimore, Monday, November 20, 1876. At Barnum’s, Smith M. Weed, of New-York.”

On this occasion, being near home, he registered openly by his own name. Before leaving Columbia it was necessary for him to establish a system of communication with somebody at the South Carolina capital, and there were obvious reasons why he should not trust the transposition cipher to any of the Southern politicians who were then attending to the affairs of the party. To say nothing of more serious matters, that cipher might lay bare the evidences of double-dealing with respect to Hampton. He expected to be absent only three or at most four days, and no very elaborate system of cryptography seemed to be necessary for so short a time. He therefore drew up a little vocabulary of arbitrary “substitution ciphers,” for use during the trip to Baltimore and back. It consisted merely of the adoption of a few proper nouns in place of the “tell-tale words” he expected to need—not a good cipher, because it

arouses suspicions, and offers the greatest facility for shrewd guessing. If the specimens of this code were numerous, they could be deciphered with the greatest ease by means of comparisons. It happens, however, that we have only nine short messages in which it was used, and with so little material we do not pretend to construct a key. We shall merely present the dispatches in connection with the narrative of events, and offer conjectural interpretations, of the plausibility of which every man will judge for himself. Fortunately, these messages are not of great importance.

Who were Smith Weed’s Columbia correspondents? They were two, and they signed themselves “Pope” and “Spain.” The most active of the Democratic managers at Columbia during these days were Colonel A.C. Haskell, chairman of the State Executive Committee, and Senator Gordon, of Georgia, who paid particular attention to the acts of the Canvassing Board, and of whom one of the local Democratic leaders telegraphed to Colonel Pelton, “Gordon is a tower of strength to us.” Weed was in telegraphic communication with both these gentlemen, and there is no indication that he telegraphed to any other person at Columbia. Which was “Spain” and which was “Pope”? This question seems to be clearly enough answered by a dispatch in which S.W. requests Colonel A.C. Haskell to “Please sugar Pope and Bull,” etc. “Pope” then was not Haskell, and we may fairly conclude that he was Gordon, and that Haskell was “Spain.” Who “Bull” may have been we do not know; but as this is the only reference we find to him, the inquiry is not of much consequence.

The day after Weed’s departure some inquiry seems to have been made about him from New-York, and “P.” telegraphed to Colonel Pelton: “Am told that W. left for Baltimore yesterday, Saturday.” An examination of hotel books in that city fails to throw any light on the identity of the “safe man” who was to bring on “the stuff,” in three packs of \$65,000, \$10,000, and \$5,000 respectively, “without inscription.” That was to be expected. A man safe enough to be trusted with such an errand would not be likely to write his name on the register of any hotel; and, indeed, if he did go on, according to appointment, it is probable that he took the Sunday night train, reached Baltimore in the morning about the same time as Weed, and returned in the course of the day. That Weed at any rate found what he went to fetch at Baltimore, is apparent from the following dispatch, which he sent to Columbia, on his arrival at Barnum’s:

[28.]

Baltimore, Nov. 20.

General J.B. Gordon, Columbia:

Matters tea by London agent. Inform Spain and Jo news. W.

"London" we know already. "Jo" occurs a number of times in the course of the cipher in relations which leave no room to doubt that it means "telegraph." "Tea" is a word which we find only twice, and it appears to stand for "arranged" or "arrangement," but we are unwilling to vouch for the correctness of any interpretation which can be tested by only two instances, and hence we give the following reading of the dispatch, not as certain, but as highly probable:

[Translation.]

Matters arranged by Returning Board agent. Inform Haskell and telegraph news.

## MORE PROCRASTINATION.

But just at this moment, when the bargain seemed to be practically closed, Mr. Tilden's inveterate habit of procrastination and over-caution disarranged the whole scheme. Weed must have received a later communication from New-York, for on the same day he telegraphed again to General Gordon:

[29.]

Baltimore, Nov. 2.

General J.B. Gordon, Columbia:

Have Bath hold on to Cuba until York or April. May be little delay. W.

By a comparison of the seven instances in which the word "Bath" occurs, and a careful consideration of the events of the days to which these dispatches belong, we have satisfied ourselves that "Bath" is the South Carolina Supreme Court; "Cuba" seems to be the canvass of the electoral votes. "York" is found only twice, and in both instances it reads as if it might mean "fixed"; "April" occurs but twice, and is perhaps equivalent to "failure." These renderings of course are merely conjectural:

[Translation.]

Have the court hold on to the electoral votes, until fixed or failure. May be little delay.

Having dispatched this, Mr. Weed, instead of returning to Columbia, went to New-York by the night train to consult with headquarters. The

books of Barnum's Hotel show that he left there after supper. *The Tribune* of the 22d announced among the "Prominent Arrivals" during the preceding day: "At the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Smith M. Weed, of Plattsburg."

To understand the sudden change of plans we must see what was doing at Columbia. As we have already remarked, there was not the most perfect accord between the Tilden party and the Hampton party, and the proceedings in the Supreme Court did not always suit the secret plans of Gramercy Park. On the 20th, the power of the Board of Canvassers to go behind the returns was argued in the court, the Democratic counsel, who had now "changed front" completely, according to Smith Weed's proposal, asking for an order to compel the canvassers to revise and correct their figures, but to a certain extent only. The results of tabulating the returns for Presidential electors was publicly known, but it had not yet been reported to the Court, in compliance with the order of the 17th; the Court instructed the Board to report on the 21st. While this matter remained unsettled, it perhaps seemed to Mr. Tilden that \$80,000 was a large sum to pay for votes which might never be cast; and it is not at all unlikely that he was tortured by doubts at the last moment whether the three purchased members of the Board were acting in "good faith" with him, so he proposed that the Court, which had already usurped the authority of a sort of revisory Canvassing Board, should "hold on to the electoral votes" till the thing was fixed, or till it failed.

## THE SOUTH CAROLINA COURT.

What hidden springs of action moved that august tribunal over which Chief-Justice Moses presided it would be hardly worth while to inquire. On the morning of the 21st the Canvassing Board submitted the returns to the Court. They showed on their face the election of the Hayes electors and Republican State officers, with three Republican Congressmen out of five, and a Legislature Republican in the Senate by three majority, and Democratic in the House by four majority. The Legislature had to canvass the returns for Governor, and as the Democrats by this showing had a majority of one on joint ballot, the result would be the counting in of Hampton. In presenting the returns, however, the Board reported that the votes of Edgefield and Laurens ought to be thrown out on account of outrageous frauds and violence, and that various palpable irregularities, etc., ought to be corrected. The consequence of doing as they recommended would be

the choice of the Republican electors, and a Legislature Republican in both branches. The extraordinary behavior of the Court in this juncture is a matter of history. It commanded the Board to certify the election of all members of the Legislature who appeared to have the greatest number of votes on the face of the returns; but in relation to the electoral ticket it took the opposite ground, and commanded the Board to revise and correct the figures according to the precinct returns. And it was thus that "Bath" held on to "Cuba."

This order was issued on the 22d. But on the 22d at noon the powers of the Canvassing Board expired by limitation. Perceiving that the purpose of the Court was to prevent any canvass of the electoral vote (which would have been equivalent to giving the Presidency to Tilden), the Board met on the morning of the 22d, and before the orders could be served it had completed its work, issued certification to the Hayes Electors and a Republican Legislature (five Democratic Assemblymen from Edgefield and three from Laurens being excluded), and then adjourned *sine die*, so that when the precepts of the Court were issued there was no longer a Canvassing Board in existence to receive them. With this sudden movement, brought on by the lawyers of his own party, Mr. Tilden's chances of buying the Board forever disappeared, and all the negotiations of Smith Weed were brought to nought. The result might have been very different if Tilden's secret agents and the local leaders of the South Carolina Democracy had not been so often at cross purposes.

Weed no sooner reached New-York than he placed himself at the end of the telegraph wire in the Everett House headquarters and began to send and receive cipher dispatches. The messages of "Spain" and "Pope" at this time seem to refer to small sums of money which may have been only for legal expenses, although some of them have a suspicious look. In printing our conjectural transactions, we again wish it to be understood that while the reading of the transposition and dictionary ciphers is a matter of positive demonstration, these rest only on guess-work, of which our readers must form their own opinion. "E June" is the only cryptogram in the whole collection to which an initial letter has been affixed. It is a very common device to represent numbers by the first letters of the alphabet; and if we assume "E" in this case to be 5, "June" is probably "thousand." The dispatch, it will be observed, was written while the Democrats were exerting themselves to obtain from the action of the Court a Democratic Legislature which would count in Hampton:

[30.]

Columbia, Nov. 20.

Smith Weed, care of King, Everett House N.Y.

Send E June immediately to Spain. February expect to get Naples House and — — May; but E June can make Naples January. This will make both Bath all right. Cuba postponed. Will remain in Bath and make Cuba January. Pope.

[Translation.]

Send 5,000 immediately to Haskell. February [?] expect to get majority House and — — Senate; but 5,000 can make majority Democratic. This will make Court all right. Electoral canvass postponed; will remain in court and make electoral vote Democratic.

No. 30 appears to have been sent to Baltimore, and thence forwarded to New-York after Weed had left.

[31.]

Columbia, Nov. 21.

Smith Weed, Everett House, N.Y.:

Pope answered you last night. Send for it, Barnum's. We think Bath [court] will close to-morrow and put Naples [majority] in the House and probably acquire Cuba [electors]. Spain.

## THE DRY TIME.

When the Canvassing Board adjourned *sine die* in order to avoid the mandamus and injunction, the Court nevertheless persisted in requiring from the dispersed members of it a compliance with the orders, although obedience was no longer in their power; and it was to the threats of fine and imprisonment by which Judge Moses sought to uphold his dignity that Colonel Haskell probably refers in the following:

[32.]

Columbia, Nov. 22.

Smith Weed, Everett House, N.Y.:

Have January friends in New-York inform their friends by Jo in New-Orleans that Bath is firm and Cuba prospects bright. Scarcely a possibility of April. But February and July are hopeless. January House already secured by action in Bath. Answer about E Jones telegram sent to Barnum's Monday. Pope.

[Translation.]

Have Democratic friends in New-York inform

their friends by telegraph in New-Orleans that court is firm, and prospects of electoral vote bright. Scarcely a possibility of failure. But February [?] and July [?] are hopeless. Democratic House already secured by action in court. Answer about 5,000 telegram sent to Barnum's Monday.

[33.]

Columbia, Nov. 23.

Smith Weed, Everett House, New-York:

Chicago is too heavy for Cuba unless Tom is sent to Spain. E. June is imperatively needed to prevent Naples failing and involving Bath and Cuba. Jo Spain to Paris immediately. Pope.

[Translation.]

Expense is too heavy for the electoral ticket, unless money is sent to Haskell. Five thousand is imperatively needed to prevent majority failing, and involving court and electoral vote. Telegraph Haskell to draw immediately.

It was perhaps not quite clear just yet at Gramercy Park what advantage it would be to the Reform candidate to capture the South Carolina Legislature, and Mr. Weed was not at all prompt in replying to the request for 5,000. But on the 23d the defeated Democratic electors brought an action against the Republican electors at Columbia to determine their title to office, and Mr. Weed's hopes revived:

[34.]

New-York, Nov. 24—10:30 a.m.

Colonel A.C. Haskell, Columbia:

Please sugar Pope and Bull and Jo whether anything can be York to effect Rome in London now. Tom abundant. Jo immediately. S.W.

[Translation.]

Please consult Gordon and Bull, and telegraph whether anything can be fixed to effect victory in Canvassing Board now. Money abundant. Telegraph immediately.

[35.]

Columbia, [No date].

S. Weed, Everett House, N.Y.:

Sugar held. Too late. London [adjourned? word blotted]. Bath firm, but Tom necessary. Send E. June to Spain immediately. Pope.

[Translation.]

Consultation held. Too late. Board adjourned. Court firm, but money necessary. Send 5,000 to Haskell immediately.

[36.]

Columbia, Nov. 27.

W.T. Pelton, Everett House, N.Y.:

Why don't Smith Weed answer Pope? This of last consequence. Haskell.

At last the answer:

[37.]

New-York, Nov. 27.

Colonel A.C. Haskell, Columbia:

If E June can make Naples in House and York May, Spain can Paris as you Jo; otherwise cannot secure tea. S.W.

[Translation.]

If 5,000 can make majority in House and fix Senate, Haskell can draw as you telegraphed; otherwise cannot secure arrangement.

What this "arrangement" was, we shall see in the next Act.

## IV.

## THE THIRD ACT.

In the dispatches between "Pope" and "Spain," at Columbia, and Smith Weed at the Everett House, we were compelled to abandon for a short time the safe ground of clear demonstration, and to embark upon the uncertain sea of conjecture. We get back now to a solid footing, for the remaining dispatches of the South Carolina story are in a cipher which we can read according to fixed rules. We find no more cryptograms of the "E June" class, but we come to the "dictionary code," of which we saw the working long ago in the Oregon disclosures. In this system the dispatch is put into cipher by finding each word of it in a dictionary, previously agreed upon, and substituting for it whatever word may be found in the corresponding line a certain number of pages either forward or back. Patrick began to use the dictionary system in his dispatches from Oregon during the latter part of November; and Mr. Tilden was so well pleased with it that he bought a number of dictionaries and supplied the agents whom he sent at the eleventh hour to Florida and South Carolina. Mr. Weed used it in communicating with Paris in Florida, signing himself "Whip," the corresponding word to which, according to the key then employed, is "Weed, a troublesome plant." Pelton signed "Commentary," which corresponds with "Colonel." The dictionary telegrams in Florida and South Carolina were evidently not

written with the aid of the same dictionary that served for the Oregon cipher, for they contained a great many words that are not in that book. To discover what dictionary was employed, we had only to try every work of the kind within reach until we found one by which we could make sense. Two or three principles assumed at the start helped to abridge the labor. First, it was taken for granted that, as a matter of convenience, the number of pages to be turned, either backward or forward, would not exceed six or seven, and the trials were consequently kept within that limit. Secondly, the dictionary was either a very large or a very small one, since the conspirators must have adopted one of the great standard works to be found in every considerable town, or a pocket abridgment convenient to carry in travelling. Thirdly, the key was a shifting-key, because words were not often repeated; if the number of pages to be turned had been always the same, many of the ciphers would have recurred frequently. After a long search, the book was found to be Webster's "Pocket Dictionary of the English Language," and the number of pages to be turned varied from one to five.

#### THE LAST PLOT.

The South Carolina Legislature met on the 28th of November. The excluded representatives of Edgefield and Laurens Counties being refused admission, all the Democratic members of the House, accompanied by one Republican, left the Capital and organized a House of their own at Carolina Hall. Counting the men from Edgefield and Laurens (who had no certificates), they numbered 64 members; without these they had 56; the Republicans had 59; the number necessary to a quorum of a full house was 63. The legality of both assemblies, therefore, was in doubt. There was no dispute about the Senate; that stood 18 Republicans to 13 Democrats.

In the latter part of November Mr. Hewitt, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, published a statement that President Grant would recognize whichever House should obtain a quorum of members holding certificates from the Canvassing Board. This letter is probably referred to in the following dispatches (not in cipher), which give us our first glimpse of the new Democratic plot:

[38.]

Columbia, Nov. 27.

Abram S. Hewitt, New-York:

Your letter of 24th inst. received. Your suggestions will be observed, but the event upon which

success depends will not be effected unless aid is given. See Senator Gwin, and answer by telegraph to-day. Every hour is important. If you concur, telegraph me at once affirmatively.

A.C. Haskell.

[39.]

Nov. 27.

Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, New-York:

Consult Dr. Gwin about his dispatch, and answer if I can act on it. Wade Hampton.

[No. 40.]

Columbia, Nov. 27.

W.T. Pelton, Everett House, New-York:

Hewitt's letter, 24th, to Haskell received. Programme suggested is being followed. The contingency on which this turns depends itself on suggestions made by Gwin some days ago. Can we act it immediately? Consult, and answer without delay. J.B. Gordon.

New York, Nov. 27.

General J.B. Gordon, Columbia:

What was suggestion of Dr. G.? No one here knows, and he has left. S.W.

We do not *know* what the suggestion of Dr. Gwin was, because the answer to this telegram of Mr. Smith Weed has not been found; but the "programme" was speedily unfolded. It was, 1. To buy enough members of the Republican Legislature to make a quorum in the opposition body. 2. With the Democratic Legislature thus obtained, to count in Hampton and the whole Democratic State government. 3. To inaugurate these officers by the aid of the rifle-clubs, in spite of any opposition by the Federal authorities. 4. By means of the Democratic State government to declare the Hayes electors intruders, and issue a new set of certificates to the Tilden electors. 5. To attack the title of the Hayes electors also in the State court, and either force them to recognize the jurisdiction of that tribunal, in which case they would be enjoined from acting, or in case of their refusal to recognize it *to imprison them for contempt and keep them locked up until the day for the voting was over.*

#### FUN AT THE FAIR.

Preparations for this complicated series of operations were made with all speed. The court issued an order to the Hayes electors to show cause why they should not be enjoined from ac-

ting, and made it returnable on the afternoon of the 5th of December, the very day appointed by law for the electors to meet and organize. The rifle-clubs were called together, and as a preliminary to their assembling Wade Hampton sent the following remarkable telegram:

[42.]

Columbia, Dec. 2.

Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, New-York:

We apprehend further military interference. Protests from other State Legislatures would strengthen, in case you get them to act promptly. Public meetings will aid.

Wade Hampton.

[43.]

Columbia, Dec. 2.

R.H. Kennedy, Greenville, S.C.:

Fun expected at the Fair this week. Prepare for high sport. Let best boys come, but not too many unless well heeled.

V.E. McBee.

[44.]

James Allen, Florence, S.C.:

Send up to-night all the right men possible, Inauguration may take place to-morrow. If rifles can be concealed, bring them. Don't wait till to-morrow evening. Come to State Fair ostensibly.

R.G. Howard.

[45.]

Columbia, Dec. 3.

W.L. Mauldin, Greenville:

I have telegraphed Cagle too. Perhaps you had better consolidate men. Extra train may leave Greenville to-night. Bring best men and tool-chest to Fair.

V.E. McBee.

And General James Conner, the Democratic candidate for Attorney-General, and leading counsel for his party in the Canvassing Board cases, added the following:

[46.]

Charleston, Dec. 3.

Major J.G. Baker, Columbia:

Have modified my views about electoral vote. The course Hampton suggests is, I fear, necessary.

James Conner.

The newspaper dispatches at the time described the sudden gathering of armed men which followed these calls.

## COLONEL PELTON TAKES A HAND IN THE GAME.

The news of these proceedings reached Gramercy Park at a most exciting time. Woolley had just telegraphed from Tallahassee (Dec. 1) the offer of the Florida Returning Board for "half of a hundred thousand dollars," and Colonel Pelton had accepted it. Mr. Marble had transmitted (Dec. 2) the extravagant bid of \$200,000 for the same article, and had been told it was too high. Patrick had concluded the negotiation for the purchase of a Republican elector in Oregon, and Mr. Pelton had given him notice (Dec. 2) that he had "deposited the eight as directed." But the plot at Columbia was anxiously watched, and the business of buying a few members of the Legislature—which was an essential part of the scheme—was really managed at Gramercy Park. About the 1st of December Mr. Tilden sent a confidential man to Columbia, with Webster's "Pocket Dictionary" in his hand, and the following correspondence took place. The writer of the first dispatch, it will be observed, only transmits a request "dictated by friend"; and inasmuch as he is a gentleman of good repute, who seems to have been hardly aware of the nature of the transaction upon which he was employed, we shall withhold his name, unless necessity should arise for giving it. The cipher is translated by turning back three pages in the "Pocket Dictionary":

[47.]

Columbia, Dec. 3.

Col. W.T. Pelton, Everett House, N.Y.:

Cry candalers roughs greengrocer ridgean enlightens maul these blackened ingress and that resource proboscis roughs yeoman enjoy siege diaphanous enlightens it is farmed shipwright may usury with ridgean imbosom and inestimable prophet gust navel may chess mote which cubes cater retrieve Hampton's un dikes upon coruscate of shipwright cellar gallantry goes inseparable farm to recusant in strip unexpected and henceforward transfuses gallantry tournament duplicity's if you geometry lunch antithesis navel nautical myth to be roughed if venesection nitrate hocus-pocus appurtenance to obstruct this dismantled by garnishes. Please acknowledge receipt forthwith. F.

[Translation.]

County canvassers' returns give Republican electors majority; these believe incorrect, and that regular precinct returns will elect several Democratic electors. It is expected Senate may unite with Republican House and inaugurate present

Governor morrow. May cause mischief which courts cannot remedy. Hampton's triumph depends upon contingency of Senate capture; four votes indispensable. Expect to raise in State twice and half times four thousand dollars, if you furnish like amount morrow morning; money to be returned if unsuccessful. Must have answer to-night. This is dictated by friend. Please acknowledge receipt forthwith. F.

[48.]

Columbia, Dec. 4.

W.T. Pelton, Everett House, New-York:

Literati oligarchy rook inefficient if not whence Hewitt's drear from alley reprobate palanquin imperishable with lottery reduplicate with century broach cits evaporated dints curly office occlusions were shattered obsession paregoric imbricated when dints lot chagrin to publish camphor office requires wormed immaculate repeat for imperishable cowardling in paregoric hilarious. Telegram to Van received. F.

Turn back four pages.

[Translation.]

Last night's request important if not vital. Hewitt's dispatch. President will recognize only House with legal quorum with Canvassing Board certificates, encouraged Democrats. Couple new negroes were seen necessary other House, when Democrats left Capital to prevent bribery. New recruits wavered; hope recapture for House convening in other Hall. Telegram to Van received. F.

Twenty thousand dollars is a large sum of money in South Carolina, and its use in capturing four Senators is not at all ambiguous. Here is Colonel Pelton's reply:

[49.]

New-York, Dec. 4.

To F., care A.C. Haskell, Columbia:

Doubloon relinquiry yeoman duct audience righteous of it yeoman sextuple siege enlightens afterwards purlieu.

Turn back three pages.

[Translation.]

Dispatch received. Will do as requested if it will secure several electors. Act promptly.

[50.]

New-York, Dec. 4.

To F. or A.C. Haskell, Columbia:

Your last not clear; words 10, 12, 13, 18, 21, 24,

28, 32, 41, 44, make no sense. Yours of last night was answered immediately in affirmative. *Get it and act upon it.* Answer immediately and full.

On Tuesday, the 5th of December, the day before the final vote, two very important orders in the legal part of the plot were to come before Judge Moses's court. The first was the return to the writ of quo warranto by which it was intended to eject the Hayes electors (provided the four votes could be obtained in the Senate); the second was a writ of mandamus to take the returns of the vote for Governor and Lieutenant Governor out of the hands of the Speaker of the Republican House, and give them to the Speaker of the Democratic House. The management of both these affairs was dictated from Gramercy Park.

[51.]

New-York, Dec. 4.

To F., care A.C. Haskell, Columbia:

Independence launch on reckon wildfire bevy osseous — — [?] if pains to devour peat assert to outright bevy dormouse incommode confederate for corporeal or if balcony the fallow of barb by meet bailer for corporeal promise bisect and estimate incommode would bevy asphyxia would bevy humane to indispose them shot embezzle woman anecdote pry dike on your strip literati omnifarious unswathe lassitude us alliance. [No sig.]

Turn back three pages.

[Translation.]

Important judge on quo warranto be obtained If order to deliver paper appurtenance to office [i.e., the returns] be disobeyed, immediately commit for contempt, or if [the electors] attempt the exercise of authority by meeting, attach for contempt. Prepare beforehand; and enforce immediately would be appropriate. Would be humane to imprison them separately during Wednesday. All depends on your State. Let nothing undo. Keep us advised.

Here, with this shameless attempt to seize by force of arms and the usurped authority of a shameless court, the high office which he had tried in four States to buy, we leave Mr. Samuel Tilden, the Reformed Democrat. The South Carolina scheme at last fell to the ground because the one part necessary to give validity to all the rest was not obtained. The four votes necessary in the State Senate could not be bought; the eventful day came; the Republican Senate stood firm; and the votes of the seven electors were duly cast on the 6th of December for Hayes and Wheeler.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

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New-York  Tribune.

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THE  
CIPHER DISPATCHES.

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*Always standing fast in the final citadel of Power, the keen,  
bright sunlight of publicity.*

—[MANTON MARBLE, Letter on "The Electoral Commission."]

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**EXTRA NO. 44.**

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## INTRODUCTION.

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In the following pages an effort is made to present concisely a connected account of the translation of the cipher dispatches and of their revelations. We first began dealing seriously with these dispatches during the Summer of 1878. The fact that the publication of the famous "Gobble" message had soon brought forward a person familiar with the cipher in which it was sent, led to the belief that a similar result might be reached again. Specimens of the various ciphers were accordingly published, from time to time, accompanied with comments, intended to attract to them wide attention. Our hope, however, was completely disappointed. No one seemed to know the key. Absolutely no help came from any quarter. All manner of suggestions were received, and many were tried, but none proved in the end to be of the slightest practical value, save a single one communicated by Secretary Evarts. That gentleman suggested that possibly a thorough student of pure mathematics might be able to divine the law on which the ciphers were constructed.

## INTRODUCTION.

Copies of a few of the dispatches were thereupon sent to a mathematical professor in a distant city, who had kindly offered to attempt a translation, on the condition that his name should under no circumstances be made public; and although (having comparatively little material to work with), he did not succeed in discovering the system upon which the ciphers were constructed, and never sent a single translation until after the same thing had been translated in the office, his work had, nevertheless, considerable value, as corroborating the results attained by others, before they had reached the point where their work proved itself.

Finally, I committed a large number of the dispatches to Mr. John R. G. Hassard, Chief of THE TRIBUNE Staff, and a serious and determined effort for their translation was fairly begun. Shortly afterward Colonel William M. Grosvenor, also of THE TRIBUNE Staff, who had become greatly interested in the specimen dispatches thrown out, asked for a chance at the same work, and a considerable number of the dispatches were confided to him. These gentlemen at first worked independently of each other, and without communication. For a time both groped blindly, if not hopelessly, in what seemed the impenetrable darkness of the ciphers. About the same date each began to get glimmerings of the system on which the double cipher was constructed. When, after weeks of labor, they first compared notes, Mr. Hassard had found two transposition keys and was just finishing a third, while Colonel Grosvenor had found three others. The system being thus discovered, the rest were found much more rapidly. The last was discovered by both gentlemen on the same evening, the one working at Litchfield, Conn.,

## INTRODUCTION.

III

the other at Englewood, N. J. Each hastened to transmit the key to me, and the two letters came upon my table the next day within an hour of each other.

A dictionary cipher baffled research much longer. Its character was easily determined in the office, but the dictionary on which it was constructed could not be found. One circumstance, however, at last demonstrated that the dictionary in question must be some one of the editions of Webster, for one or two words occurred in some of the dispatches sent in this cipher which were not found in any of the modern English dictionaries, excepting Webster's. Mr. Isaac N. Ford, of THE TRIBUNE Staff, had meantime laboriously gone through forty or fifty dictionaries of all sorts and sizes, omitting unluckily the very one which had at first been suspected, for the reason that it happened to be the only one not on the shelves of the downtown bookstore where these searches were made. Just as the hunt was narrowed down to this particular dictionary, the mathematical professor telegraphed that this dictionary was the basis of the key, and in twenty-four hours the ciphers it contained were unlocked.

After the main work had been done, a number of dispatches among local politicians at the South, apparently of minor importance, sent in ciphers of a different character from any previously translated, were attacked by Mr. Hassard. Among these were the double number and the double letter ciphers. I had intrusted in all about 400 dispatches to Mr. Hassard and Colonel Grosvenor. When they had finished their labors only three of that whole collection remained untranslated. These are in ciphers

of which there are no other examples, and they have not yet been mastered.

In the original publications, it was found almost impossible to get any considerable collection of cipher dispatches printed with entire typographical accuracy. There being absolutely no guide from either the sense or the sound, printers and proof-readers were alike liable to constant error, which only the most painstaking watchfulness by an expert could detect. In the following pages the ciphers have been revised and re-revised until they are now believed to be printed with entire accuracy.

Valuable aid was rendered by many of the younger gentlemen in the office, and as the hunt became keener, almost the entire Staff took part in it. The credit of translation, however, belongs absolutely to Mr. Hassard and Colonel Grosvenor. They received no assistance from any outside quarter, excepting from the mathematical professor before mentioned, and received from him no translation whatever, and no important clew, until after they had discovered it themselves.

TRIBUNE OFFICE, }  
14 Jan., 1879. }

W. R.

# The Tribune.

EXTRA NO. 44.

NEW-YORK, NOVEMBER 12, 1876.

PRICE 25 CENTS.

## THE CIPHER DISPATCHES.

### SECRET HISTORY OF THE ELECTORAL CANVASS IN 1876.

*"Shall I not ring fire-bell in night?"*

—[MANTON MARBLE, Cipher Dispatch to W. T. PELTON, Nov. 19, 1876.]

The history of the electoral crisis in November and December, 1876, as disclosed by the cipher dispatches of the Democratic leaders and their secret agents, covers a period of about twenty-eight days, from the 8th of November, when it first became apparent that the Presidency depended upon the count of the vote in two or three doubtful States, until the 6th of December, when the electoral ballots were duly cast for Hayes and Wheeler. By deciphering these telegrams THE TRIBUNE has discovered that agents were at once sent out from No. 15 Gramercy Park, the residence of Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, to South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and that others, at the West, received telegraphic orders to proceed immediately to Oregon, in order to "capture" one or all of those States for the Democratic candidate. They all resorted to bribery, communicating to Mr. Tilden's nephew, Colonel W. T. Pelton, the par-

ticulars of the bargains they concluded, and receiving from him a distinct and formal approval.

1. In Florida the secret agents were Manton Marble, C. W. Woolley, and John F. Coyle. Marble transmitted to Gramercy Park, first a proposition for the purchase of the Florida Returning Board at the price of **\$200,000**. That was rejected as extravagant, and the figure was reduced to **\$50,000**, at which price Colonel Pelton signified his willingness to close the transaction. It fell through in consequence of a delay in the receipt of the message of acceptance.

2. In South Carolina the purchasing agent was Smith M. Weed. He telegraphed to Colonel Pelton, on the very day of his arrival at Columbia, a proposal to buy the Canvassing Board for **\$30,000**, to which Pelton appears to have readily assented. This figure was too low, and the negotiation, after lasting six days, was closed at the price of **\$80,000**. It was arranged that Weed should meet a messenger at Baltimore, who was to carry the money in three packages; and he particularly requested that Colonel Pelton should act as this messenger himself. Weed accordingly arrived in Baltimore from Columbia on the 20th of November, and Pelton arrived there at the same time from New-York; but again a little delay upset the scheme. Subsequently a plot was formed to buy four members of the South Carolina Legislature, for **\$20,000**, and having thus obtained control of the State government, to put the Hayes electors in jail, and lock them up in separate cells until the day for casting the electoral votes had passed. The result of this villany would have been to deprive South Carolina of any vote, and to throw the choice of a President into the House of Representatives, which would have elected Tilden. The plan failed because the four members could not be bought.

3. In Oregon the Democratic Governor withheld a certificate from one of the Hayes electors on the ground of ineligibility, and, instead of allowing the other electors to fill the vacancy, gave the certificate to a Tilden elector named Cronin, who had clearly been defeated. The secret agent in Oregon was one J. N. H. Patrick. He telegraphed to Colonel Pelton that it was necessary to "purchase a Republican elector to recognize and act with" Cronin, and the price was **\$5,000**. This proposal likewise was accepted, and the money was sent to Oregon, where it arrived only on the 6th of December, just too late to be of any use.

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# THE CIPHER TELEGRAMS.

## THE CODES USED, AND HOW THEY WERE DISCOVERED.

Always standing fast in the final citadel of power, the keen bright sunlight of publicity.—[MANTON MARBLE, *Letter on "The Electoral Commission," August, 1878.*

In the Summer of 1878 THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE found itself in possession of a mass of telegraphic dispatches which had passed between certain leaders of the Democratic party in New-York City and their confidential agents in various contested States, at the time of the canvass of the electoral votes in 1876. The whole number of these dispatches was not far from 400. About half of them were in plain English; these, although they were sometimes useful in determining the meaning of messages of another kind, related generally to transactions of little importance. The rest were in cipher, and a slight examination was sufficient to show that they covered political secrets of the first consequence. They comprised:

1. Telegrams between the Democratic managers in New-York and their agents in California and Oregon, relative to the granting of a certificate to one of the Democratic electors who was not elected, and the "purchase of a Republican elector to recognize and act with him."

2. Telegrams between the Democratic managers in New-York and their friends and secret agents in Florida during the progress of the count.

3. Telegrams between these New-York managers and their friends and secret agents in Louisiana during the same critical period.

4. Telegrams between these New-York managers and their friends and secret agents in South Carolina during the operations of the Canvassing Board at Columbia, and the argument before the State Supreme Court, by whose interference Mr. Tilden's representatives hoped to control the action of the Board.

5. Various dispatches between local Democratic politicians in Florida and South Carolina.

Many of the Oregon telegrams had been already published, and as the key to the cipher in which they were written was known, the translation of the rest was little more than a clerical labor. The Louisiana dispatches were fragmentary. The Florida and South Carolina correspondence seemed to be almost complete and of serious value, and to this THE TRIBUNE applied itself, with results which will be found in the following pages.

The task of translation was undertaken by two

members of the editorial staff of THE TRIBUNE, Mr. John R. G. Hassard and Colonel William M. Grosvenor, who, working apart from each other, Colonel Grosvenor with the Florida telegrams, and Mr. Hassard with those belonging to the South Carolina case, arrived independently and almost simultaneously at the same solution of the puzzle. Copies of some of the ciphers from each State were sent to a gentleman in another city, and he, pursuing a different system of deciphering from that adopted by the other two, discovered, nevertheless, several of the same keys which had been found by Messrs. Grosvenor and Hassard, and produced translations which agreed exactly with theirs.

### THE CIPHER SYSTEMS.

The ciphers employed were of several kinds. The Oregon correspondence was conducted by what is generally called the "Dictionary Cipher." Here the first word of the message to be sent was sought in a dictionary previously agreed upon, and the sender substituted for it the word which occupied the corresponding line a certain number of pages forward or back. The second word was treated in the same way, and so on until the whole message had been turned into cipher. The person who received it got at the translation by reversing this process. The book used in the Oregon affair was a little "Household English Dictionary," published by T. Nelson & Sons, London, and the ciphers were translated by turning back four pages. It happened that the Democratic agent in Oregon had previously used a modification of this system in connection with mining transactions, and when one of the political messages was intercepted and published, a Western business man recognized the cipher, and a translation of all the dispatches of that class which had then been secured was readily made. The first complete and correct publication of them appeared in THE TRIBUNE of September 4, 1878. The dictionary cipher was also used in a few of the South Carolina and Florida messages, but the book adopted for these was evidently not the same that served in Oregon, and there was no clue to the rule by which it was to be used. To find it, however, was not a serious difficulty. It was only necessary to try every dictionary within

reach till one was discovered by which it was possible to make sense. Two or three principles assumed at the start helped to abridge the labor. First, it was taken for granted that, as a matter of convenience, the number of pages to be turned, either backward or forward, would not exceed six or seven, and the trials were consequently kept within that limit. Secondly, the dictionary was either a very large or a very small one, since the correspondents must have adopted one of the great standard works to be found in every considerable town, or a pocket abridgment convenient to carry in travelling. Thirdly, the key was a shifting-key, because words were not often repeated; if the number of pages to be turned had been always the same, many of the ciphers would have recurred frequently. After a long search, the book was found to be Webster's "Pocket Dictionary of the English Language," and the number of pages to be turned varied from one to five.

Another system of cryptograms, of which comparatively few examples are found, was devised by substituting numbers for all the most important, or, as one might say, "tell-tale" words. This may be described as the "Number Cipher." It was generally used in combination with another, and the method of translating it will be described further on. The following is a specimen:

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 1.

To HENRY HAVEMEYER, *New-York*:

Sixteen fetch may make thirteen forty of half of a twelve eleven ten can you say two in nine immediately if twenty.

Fox.

Some messages contained numbers and nothing else. The local politicians occasionally corresponded in that simplest and most futile of all cryptograms, which consists merely in the substitution of one letter for another; and there was a simple Substitution Cipher, used only for a short time in South Carolina, which was constructed by using arbitrary equivalents for a few of the principal "tell-tale" words. This will be described in the course of the narrative.

#### THE TRANSPOSITION CIPHER.

For a very large majority, however, of all the Southern secret dispatches there was one system of double cipher, unvarying in its principle, though changing often in its details and mode of application; and a little examination of the pile of telegrams made it clear that, the key to this being found, there would be little difficulty in reading the most important part of the correspondence. The system consisted of a cipher within a cipher. First, arbitrary words—generally geographical proper names—were substituted for all tell-tale expressions. One rarely finds, for instance, "Democrat" or "Radical," "Hayes" or "Tilden," "Returning Board" or "Elector," "Governor" or "President," or numbers, or the name of any State. Secondly, these substitutions having been made, the message was broken up and dislocated, the words being taken out of their proper order, and arranged as if they had been shaken in a bag, drawn out at random,

and set down as chance dictated. Here is the beginning of a long dispatch that has been treated in the way described:

Have Rhine river as is of follows Edinburgh river Mississippi been of Rhine Copenhagen river Rhine Syracuse parcel to secured Danube Potomac river sent Chicago London Edinburgh be river of.

It might be supposed that the dislocated words could always be put together again by the exercise of a little ingenuity and patience; but anybody who may try the experiment—for example, with the lines quoted above (which are complete in sense so far as they go, though they are only a fragment of a dispatch)—will see that the task is by no means a light one. When the meaning of all the words is understood, it will generally be found that a transposed dispatch can be rearranged in a variety of ways, all making good sense and good grammar, but all disagreeing hopelessly in significance; and when the perplexity is increased by the introduction of a number of blind words, of which one does not even know whether they are nouns, or verbs, or adjectives, the attempt to reconstruct the sentences without the aid of a key is almost hopeless. And yet the proper sequence of all the words *must* be ascertained before even an intelligent guess can be made at the meaning of any considerable number of the blind words. The double cipher is, therefore, one of the most difficult cryptograms ever devised. But almost any cipher, however intricate and ingenious, can be read if the translator have a sufficient number of specimens to work with; and there was certainly no lack of material in this case.

#### DISCOVERY OF THE FIRST KEY.

The beginning of the discovery was a fortunate guess at the meaning of one of the blind words. A substitution-cipher that occurs with notable frequency is "Warsaw." It is found in almost all the longer dispatches; occasionally it takes inflections, as "Warsawed." The conjecture immediately presented itself that it signified either "telegraph" or "answer"; but as the latter word is used without disguise in some of the same messages which contain "Warsaw," the other alternative was assumed to be the right one—an assumption which later discoveries speedily confirmed, "Warsaw" proving to be the equivalent of both "telegraph" and "telegram." Accepting this definition as correct, the following dispatch of ten words was read so easily that it might almost be said to rearrange itself at first sight:

[Cipher.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 14, 1876.

To HENRY HAVEMEYER, *New-York*:

Warsaw they read all unchanged last are idiots can't situation.

W.

[Translation.]

Can't read last telegram. Situation unchanged. They are all idiots.

The words in this dispatch are transposed according to the following order: 9, 3, 6, 1, 10, 5, 2, 7, 4, 8. Or, to make the matter plainer, let us num-

ber the words of the cipher, and illustrate the process of transposition :

[Cipher.]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
Warsaw they read all unchanged last are idiots  
9 10  
can't situation.

To make the translation, according to the key given above, the 9th word of the cipher must come first, the 3d next, and then must follow in order the 6th, 1st, 10th, 5th, 2d, 7th, 4th and 8th. The same sequence was tried on other dispatches. It fitted none until a second message of exactly ten words was found, as follows :

[Cipher.]

Me with you Anna communication put Weed  
Charles can in. S.

This yielded to the same key of transposition, and the words being rearranged according to the sequence already given, stood thus :

[Translation.]

Can you put me in communication with Weed?  
Anna Charles.

The meaning of "Anna Charles" was still dark, but there could be no reasonable doubt that the right sequence of words had been found, and this conviction was strengthened when a third 10-word message yielded readily to the same key. But there were very few of these short messages in the bundle, and the sequence that applied to them would not fit any part of a longer dispatch. Evidently there was more than one key. But how did the person who received the cipher message know what key to use in translating it?

### THE TRANSPOSITION SYSTEM.

The inquiry had reached this point, when the curious circumstance was noticed that the number of words in every transposition telegram was a multiple of five. This, at least, was the strict general rule, though a few exceptions to it will be noticed later. The shortest message consisted of 10 words; then there were two or three of 15 words; there were many of 20, of 25, of 30, of 40, of 50 words, and they ran up into the hundreds, always proceeding by fives. This could not be accidental; and the suggestion naturally arose that there was a connection between the regularity of these blocks of numbers and the system of transposing them, so that the length of the dispatch was the clew which guided the person who received it in the selection of the key to the transposition. Then supposing that there was one sequence of numbers for a 10-word message, and another for a message of 15 words, and another for a message of 20, and so on, it would only be necessary for the receiver to count the words in the telegram in order to know upon which of several prearranged sequences it had been constructed. This theory was at once tested by a group of 30-word telegrams. Five messages of that length were selected, written out

in parallel columns, one word under another, and every word numbered, thus :

No. of word	First dispatch.	Second dispatch.	Third dispatch.	Fourth dispatch.	Fifth dispatch.
1....	Me	Very	Figure	To	Rochester
2....	you	news	France	situation	of
3....	do	say	capture	prospects	answer
4....	to	Copenhagen	and	America	yesterday
5....	did	to	over	Africa	to-day
6....	to	from	what	desperate	intend
7....	question	can	see	Thames	understand
8....	when	Florida	answer	soon	Thomas
9....	you	you	Europe	Europe	my
10....	to	count	Moselle	report	Africa
11....	to	much	Russia	about	but
12....	morning	in	shall	every	it
13....	asked	be	little	mischief	the
14....	want	give	and	Warsaw	first
15....	where	what	appearances	in	avall
16....	go	Louisiana	about	dispatch	at
17....	supposed	am	best	in	my
18....	this	placed	hope	acting	nothing
19....	until	if	Glasgow	this	Bavaria
20....	come	mixed	will	will	as
21....	to-night	insure	up	state	Copenhagen
22....	important	London	keep	all	once
23....	and	Oregon	Oregon	concert	reported
24....	answer	few	America	morning	small
25....	here	intend	be	parties	by
26....	Warsawed	things	can	France	and
27....	adjourned	out	Potomac	in	satisfied
28....	to-morrow	a	behind	and	hope.
29....	London	us	Edinburgh		
30....	you.	here.	L.	received.	

The problem now was to find an arrangement of the numbers which would make sense of all five columns equally. It would not have been difficult perhaps to contrive a conjectural reading of the first column, for that contained only one unknown word; but the interpretation would have been no better than a guess unless the other four dispatches had confirmed it. The only systematic method of deciphering was to fit together little groups of words, trying every rational combination of two or three, and verifying the experiment by comparison with the corresponding words in the parallel columns. Almost always a few words can be found which seek each other's companionship obviously and naturally. These may be called "guide-words." In the first column for instance we have the word "adjourned" (27.) We know, by the date of the dispatch, (Columbia, November 13), that the man who wrote it was anxiously watching the proceedings of the South Carolina Board of State Canvassers, and the inference is clear that the only adjournment he would be likely to telegraph about was the adjournment of the Canvassing Board. We find no open mention of the Board in his telegram, but there is the substitution-cipher "London," which is used with great frequency all through the correspondence; if that means Canvassing Board, it will make a good nominative to "adjourned." Now we also know that the Board did not complete its labors till a week after this date; the adjournment then was not final, but to some particular day, and the day must have been given in the dispatch. "London adjourned until to-morrow" is a reading which not only seems rational, but agrees with the facts as we learn them from an examination of the newspaper files for November, 1876. We have, therefore, the sequence 29, 27, 19, 28, which makes sense in the

first column. In the second, it produces this arrangement of words "us out if a;" in the third and fourth it yields a large proportion of blind words which give us little or no help; in the fifth it produces "satisfied by Bavaria and." All these collocations look at least encouraging. The fragment of a sentence, or sentences, which we have obtained from the second column, "us out if a," contains two clues by which we can extend the sequence in both directions; plainly the word in that column which precedes "us out" is "count" (the 10th word), and the 25th and 5th words, "intend to," are just as clearly the words that lead up to "count." Our fragment now contains seven words, and it ends with the article "a" (28). There are only two words left in the column to which the indefinite article can possibly be applied—"few" (24) and the yet unknown "Copenhagen" (4). A comparison with the parallel words in the fifth column shows that "Copenhagen" will not do, and we take "few." Now the phrase "a few" must be followed by a plural noun, and unless "Copenhagen" stands for a plural noun the only one that remains is "things" (26). There is nothing in the other columns to help us in deciding between them, so we leave the sequence for the present and try some other blocks. We have already got the order, 25, 5, 10, 29, 27, 19, 28, 24, fitting perfectly in all the columns, so far as they are understood, and we know that the next number is either 4 or 26. Let us look for a guide-word now in one of the other columns. In the 4th column we find "dispatch" (17), and a most natural thing to say about a dispatch is that it has been "received" (30). It is very likely that the message begins with the acknowledgment "Dispatch received." This sequence (17, 30) gives us for the opening words of the other telegrams, (1st) "Supposed you"; (2d) "Am here"; (3d) "Best I," and (5th) "My hope." The verb which seems most appropriately to follow "Best I" is "can" (26), and the same order gives in other columns "My hope small," "supposed you telegraphed," and so on, besides settling our choice between 4 and 26 as the next number in the sequence just left incomplete. In the third column, we are irresistibly tempted to try the arrangement 22, 21, 15, "keep up appearances," and as that fits all the other telegrams, we accept it as correct.

Thus we have disposed of 15 of our 30 words, and the arrangement of the others is comparatively easy, because, of course, with the elimination of successive groups of numbers the possible permutations of the remainder are very rapidly diminished. It is unnecessary to illustrate the process in any further detail. Enough has been said to show that the formation of the separate blocks of words is not by mere random guessing, but in great part by a strict application of the rules of grammar and attention to known facts; that the succession of words is often not that which may be, but

that which *must* be; and that whenever we resort to conjecture we verify it by repeated comparisons. Little by little the fragments fall easily into their appropriate places, and as they fit themselves together the hidden meaning shines forth, not simply in one dispatch, but simultaneously in the whole group of dispatches. This, then, is the sequence obtained, after repeated experiment and close study, for the set of 30-word messages given above: 17, 30, 26, 1, 11, 20, 25, 5, 10, 29, 27, 19, 28, 24, 4, 7, 13, 18, 12, 22, 21, 15, 3, 9, 14, 2, 6, 16, 23, 8;—that is to say, the seventeenth word of the cipher is the first word of the translated message, the thirtieth word of the cipher is the second word of the message, and so on. But there were many tests still to be applied to the solution. The key thus found was tried on a great many transposition-ciphers, some belonging to the Florida correspondence, others to the South Carolina collection, others to the Louisiana bundle—dispatches written to and from a number of persons. There were some which it did not fit, but it applied so perfectly to others, yielding at once an easy and intelligible translation without any forced construction of sentences, that no doubt remained of its strict accuracy. If the sequence had solved only two or three dispatches out of a large number, its application to those two or three might have been called an accident; but when it was found to suit two or three dozen written by different persons at different dates, and sent from different places to different persons, there could be no sort of question that it was a fixed rule. Furthermore, the sequence keys were not discovered by one person alone. Three investigators, working at a distance from each other, upon different bundles of telegrams, and without intercommunication, reached independently the same conclusions. Several of the keys were found by all three simultaneously.

The system being established, sequences of 15, of 20, and of 25 words were found by the same plan pursued in constructing the longer one.

#### CORRELATIVE KEYS.

In the course of this work it began to appear that for some of the groups of numbers, if not for all, there were *two* keys, either of which the correspondent could use at pleasure; and this explained the exceptional ciphers whose obstinate resistance to the first found keys had seemed so puzzling. Two sequences, both in frequent use, were found for the groups of 15 numbers, of 25, and of 30. Arguing from analogy that the other keys must likewise be double, the investigators made a thorough examination, which resulted, as they anticipated, in the finding of a second sequence of 20 numbers, and finally a second of 10. And this led to the interesting discovery that each of these second or supplementary keys was the correlative to the first of the same group. This law can best be explained by an example. Here is a cipher dispatch of 15 words, belonging to what may be called for convenience the first group; and to make the process clearer the words are numbered consecutively:

[illegible]

## THE SUBSTITUTION CIPHERS.

After getting the solution of the transposition ciphers, the "blind words," or substitution ciphers, had next to be considered. Many of them explained themselves, as soon as the dispatches in which they occurred were arranged in proper order. Many were interpreted by the help of the newspaper files of the dates to which they belonged. Chosen arbitrarily as these words were, it might have been supposed that it would be necessary to rely almost wholly upon guess-work for their interpretation. This is so far from being the case that there is perhaps no part of the deciphering process in which the *proof* of the meaning is so clear as when it deals with these arbitrary substitutions. An instance has been mentioned in which the history of a day to which a certain dispatch refers supplied a strong inference as to the signification of the cipher-word "London." Inference, however, was not relied upon for the interpretation of this important word. To say nothing of the scores of instances in which the interpretation "Canvassing Board," as a substitute for "London" makes sense; there is one dispatch from New-Orleans, dated November 21, which settles the question beyond cavil. That dispatch reads in cipher:

Committees none London sub with but met Moselle canvassed our Thames admitted count tally counties.

Being translated by Key IV, it yields the following:

London met; admitted none but Moselle sub-committees. Thames counties canvassed tally with our count.

Now, it is known as a matter of history, that on the 20th of November there was great anxiety as to the probable action of the Louisiana Returning Board in regard to holding secret sessions. The visiting politicians of both National parties asked to be admitted; so did the friends and representatives of various local candidates, and a score of other persons. When it met on the morning of the 21st the Board decided to admit only "two sub-committees," i. e., a certain small number of the visiting Democrats and an equal number of the visiting Republicans. It then took up the returns, and three of the county returns which it canvassed were admitted by the Democrats to be correct. Here, then, is an absolute demonstration of the meaning of (1) London = Returning Board; (2) Moselle = two; (3) Thames = three. We set these down in our vocabulary, and look for light elsewhere. "Russia" appears to denote some important personage. Ex-Governor Bigler, who was one of the Tilden visitors at New-Orleans, wished to communicate with Russia in New-York, and he intrusted his message to somebody to put into cipher. It begins therefore in this form: "Bigler to Russia." But about that time we find Colonel Pelton asking Smith M. Weed at Columbia to "Telegraph what is the majority on Russia." Who was there in New-York who had been running for anything in South Carolina? Nobody but Mr. Tilden himself. And that he was Russia, there are a hundred things to show. Another South

Carolina dispatch mentions a report that "America party are trading off Russia;" and as a matter of fact we know that the papers were full just at that time of a scheme of the South Carolina Conservatives to trade off Tilden for Hampton. By a somewhat similar course of observation, which will be apparent from the translated dispatches, "Greece" was ascertained to be Hayes; "Ithaca" was shown to stand for Democrats, and "Havana" for Republicans. "Rochester" was very often used, and here is a telegram which proves its meaning conclusively.

Returning Board attempted to count electoral Rochester this morning. We opposed, and they adjourned until 3. Think they are controlled [by] Havana party. They said they would count Rochester as they stood on face of returns, and that was all Ithaca asked.

"Rochester" of course can be nothing else but "votes" in this case, and there is certainly no difficulty in identifying "Ithaca" and "Havana," especially as it is known that the Democrats in South Carolina were then clamoring for a count of the vote on the face of the returns.

## IDENTIFICATION OF NUMBERS.

It has already been seen how the same Louisiana dispatch which established the meaning of "London" also demonstrated that "Thames" meant "three," and "Moselle" meant "two." The interpreters soon saw reason to suspect that the names of rivers always represented numbers, and this turned out to be the case. The proofs are complete and simple. For example, a telegram from New-York to Columbia states that "friend will go through on train leaving here to-night at Potomac o'clock." One had only to consult the railway time-tables of that month to find out at what hour the night train for the South left Jersey City, and so it was learned that Potomac meant "six." Repeatedly figures of State or county majorities are given which can be interpreted by consulting the newspaper files, and so it was discovered that "Danube" was "five" and "Schuylkill" "seven." "River" is a very common word in connection with numbers. There is one long dispatch which has so many rivers in it that until the key of transposition was found the investigators used to speak of it as "the river dispatch." When the words were rearranged in their proper sequence three rivers came together after a numeral, thus "Tanube (5) river river river." The dispatch evidently referred to a large amount, and to a lump sum; clearly "river" could be nothing else than 0. There is a New-Orleans dispatch in which the Democrats claim a majority of 85 [Mississippi Danube] to 89 [Mississippi Missouri] thousand. The meaning of "Mississippi" and of "Danube" had been ascertained before that dispatch was reached, but this was the first time of encountering "Missouri." Yet the interpretation was perfectly simple. The majority was said to be from 85 to 8—, the last unit being unknown. It must be something higher than 5. It was neither 6 nor 7; those numbers had been identified already; of course it was not 8, and there

was nothing left but 9. This led the decipherers a step further. They had all the units except 1 and 4, and two rivers remained, "Rhine" and "Hudson." The meaning of "Rhine" was speedily settled by a telegram in which, after giving the majority for the Hayes electors in South Carolina, "S." went on to say: "Rhine of Tilden's within 230 of their lowest." The journals of the period will show that one of the Tilden electors was said to be just that number of votes behind the lowest Republican elector and so "Rhine" was determined as "one," and "Hudson" as the equivalent of "four." "Glasgow" and "Edinburgh" are frequently found preceded by numerals, and never found alone. It would have been easy to guess that they stood for "hundred" and "thousand" respectively, but guessing is quite unnecessary; the care with which Mr. Tilden's agents telegraphed the figures of majorities supplied the proof of these interpretations.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF PERSONS.

The cipher dispatches were rarely signed by the real names of the writers, and yet it was easy to determine who the writers were. The telegrams were necessarily sent to a real address, and many of them either gave or called for an answer. When a message of inquiry is signed "Moses" and addressed to Colonel Pelton, and the answer to it is signed "Denmark" and addressed to Mr. Manton Marble, it needs no great sagacity to learn that Marble is "Moses," and that Pelton is "Denmark." Moreover, a great many of the dispatches belonged to a continued series of communications, all relating to one transaction and under the management of one or two persons. Somewhere in such a chain of telegrams the real names of these persons were sure to be disclosed—if not by a direct answer to their questions, then by side-lights thrown upon the correspondence by allusions in other dispatches. Several telegrams of no apparent consequence in themselves proved very useful indirectly by settling a doubt as to somebody's identity. Nearly all the persons mentioned in the ciphers have made public statements since the translations were printed in THE TRIBUNE, and have virtually acknowledged their pseudonyms; while none of the conclusions of THE TRIBUNE as to the identity of "Max," "Fox," "Moses," etc., have been denied. There is no doubt, therefore, that "Moses" represents Manton Marble, "Fox" is C. W. Woolley, "Max" is John F. Coyle, "Denmark" is Wm. T. Pelton, and "W." (in South Carolina) is Smith M. Weed. Most of Mr. Marble's dispatches appear in cipher to be unsigned, and were marked by the telegraph operator "No sig." This is because he (unlike the other correspondents) generally counted the signature "Moses" as one of the words in his sequence of five, and when the transposition was made by the cipher key the signature was accordingly shifted into the body of the dispatch, where the operator, of course, did not recognize it. In translation, it

fell into its proper place at the end. It has been ascertained that the telegrams addressed to Henry Havemeyer, New-York, were really intended for Colonel W. T. Pelton, the nephew of Mr. Tilden, and an inmate of Mr. Tilden's house, No. 15 Gramercy Park. Mr. Havemeyer could not read them; and his name was used merely as a blind.

#### DUMB WORDS.

In many cipher systems the use of "dumb words" or "nulls," that is, words thrown in merely to confuse, is common. There is something of the same sort in the transposition and substitution-cipher. It was necessary to fill the sequence of numbers exactly, or else the key would not fit, and when the dispatch fell short of the proper length "nulls" were added to complete the measure. In the form in which the cipher was sent these unmeaning words appeared scattered all over the dispatch, but when it was transposed for translation they all fell together at the end. There were only a few of them—Anna, Charles, Thomas, Jane, Captain, Lieutenant, etc., and, of course, they were easily recognized. There is one dispatch which really consists only of the three words, "Matters desperate here," but to these seven "nulls" are added, in order to make out the sequence of ten. It was hardly worth while, perhaps, to go through so much for the sake of getting so little; but many foolish things are to be found in the cipher dispatches.

#### THE NUMBER-CIPHER.

Beside the main cipher, the interpretation of which is absolutely demonstrable, a second set of substituted words is used in eighteen dispatches relating mainly to transfers of small sums of money for expenses. This is the "Number-Cipher" already alluded to. The translation of some of these ciphers, also, is so fully sustained by proof that entire certainty exists as to their meaning, but others are used in so few instances that the complete key cannot be said to be surely ascertained. The following interpretation, however, has been tested first by its application to every dispatch in which that cipher is used, and secondly, by the connection of the dispatches thus translated with the mass of open dispatches, or those translated by the keys of assured correctness, and in every case the interpretation is found to fit exactly. Moreover, Mr. John F. Coyle, who used this cipher, has publicly acknowledged that the translations of THE TRIBUNE are correct. The cipher, he said in a letter to *The Herald*, was "almost as difficult to us to use as it has proved to THE TRIBUNE to translate."

#### THE VOCABULARY.

The following list contains the substitution ciphers whose meaning seems to be distinctly proved. Certain words are used in a very peculiar way. In the main transposition cipher, "America," "France" and "Europe" stand sometimes for the States of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana; sometimes for Wade Hampton, Governor Stearns and Governor Kellogg; sometimes, also, for the local political organizations of which those persons were the heads.

## VOCABULARY.

## MAIN CIPHER.

Africa.....Chamberlain.  
 America.....Hampton.  
 Amsterdam..bills.  
 Bolivia.....proposal.  
 Brazil.....too high (?)  
 Bavaria.....?  
 Bremen.....Commissioner (?)  
 Chicago.....cost.  
 Chili.....?  
 Copenhagen.dollars.  
 Denmark....Colonel Pelton.  
 Europe.....Louisiana.  
 Europe.....Governor Kellogg.  
 Fox.....C. W. Woolley.  
 France.....Florida.  
 France.....Governor Stearns.  
 Greece.....Hayes.  
 Havana.....Republicans.  
 Israel.....Manton Marble.  
 Ithaca.....Democrats.  
 Lima.....accept.  
 London.....Canvassing Board.  
 Louis.....Governor.  
 Max.....John F. Coyle.  
 Monroe.....county.  
 Moses.....Manton Marble.  
 Paris.....draw.  
 Petersburg..deposit.  
 Portugal....?  
 Rochester...votes.  
 Russia.....Tilden.  
 Syracuse.....majority.  
 Utica.....trading.  
 Vienna.....payable.  
 Warsaw.....telegraph, telegram.

## Numbers:

River.....0.  
 Rhine.....1.  
 Moselle.....2.  
 Thames.....3.  
 Hudson.....4.  
 Danube.....5.  
 Potomac.....6.  
 Schuylkill ..7.

Mississippi..8.  
 Missouri.....9.  
 Glasgow.....hundred.  
 Edinburgh...thousand.

## Dumb words, or "nulls":

Anna.  
 Captain.  
 Charles.  
 Daniel.  
 Jane.  
 Jones.  
 Lieutenant.  
 Thomas.  
 William.

## NUMBER-CIPHER.

France.....Two.  
 Italy.....Three.  
 Greece.....Four.  
 England.....Five.  
 One.....Telegraphic credit.  
 Two.....Will deposit.  
 Three.....Supply or provide.  
 Four.....Have you arranged or deposited.  
 Five.....Will send, or remit.  
 Seven.....Draw, or draft.  
 Nine.....Bank.  
 Ten.....Dollars.  
 Eleven.....Thousand.  
 Twelve.....Hundred.  
 Thirteen.....Necessary.  
 Sixteen.....Canvassing Board.  
 Nineteen.....Received.  
 Twenty.....Agree, agreed, agreement.  
 Twenty-one...Telegraph.  
 Twenty-four...Vote.  
 Twenty-seven..J. F. Coyle.  
 Thirty.....Republicans.  
 Thirty-two....Canvassing.  
 Thirty-four....G. P. Raney.  
 Thirty-five....Requirements.  
 Thirty-seven...Member.  
 Forty.....Expenses.  
 Forty-one.....Paid, or protected.  
 Forty-six.....Prompt.

## THE FLORIDA TELEGRAMS.

### THE OPERATIONS OF MANTON MARBLE AND C. W. WOOLLEY.

#### BUYING THE BOARD.

Traces of money payment are darkly visible.—[MANTON MARBLE. *Letter on "The Electoral Commission,"* August, 1878.

Offering to the highest bidder the sacred muniments of the Presidential title.—[MANTON MARBLE.

An ague-smitten Pariah . . . betrayed his capacity for crime by attempting to hide the true.—[MANTON MARBLE.

It is anybody's secret that throughout the month while this groundwork and primary part of the conspiracy was heaping up and cementing in debauchment and dishonor, the certificates of these three State Canvassing Boards were for sale. Two were actually purchased. They were bought by promises of office, or by money, or by both.—[MANTON MARBLE.

Any one of the venal crew could deliver what he deemed a conclusive title to the Presidency. But it was not there and thus that Mr. Tilden sought to compass the defeat of the Republican conspiracy. Whatever the wish, or the less absolute integrity or the more customary morals, of any devoted adherent, no such transaction would he consent to nor connive at, nor permit.—[MANTON MARBLE.

The true history of the contest for the electoral votes of Florida in 1876 is told for the first time in the cipher dispatches of the Democratic managers in that State to and from Gramercy Park, New-York. The translations of these dispatches show that the confidential agents of Mr. Tilden in that State were Manton Marble, C. W. Woolley and John F. Coyle; that these agents went to Tallahassee with prearranged ciphers for communication with the residence of Mr. Tilden; that they first labored by lawful means to secure for him the votes of that State, and failed therein because the official returns gave a majority for Mr. Hayes. Cipher dispatches regarding the bribery of a member of the Canvassing Board then passed between Mr. Tilden's residence and his confidential agents in Tallahassee. One proposition to pay \$200,000 for a member was held too high, because another dispatch from a different agent promised a cheaper bargain. Then by both agents separate propositions were sent in separate ciphers, to buy a member for \$50,000. The reply from Gramercy Park was, "Proposition accepted if done only once," and the two agents were separately ordered to consult with each other in haste. It does not clearly appear that the goods would have been delivered. Four words were dropped from the dispatch authorizing the

purchase, thus making it unintelligible. It was after some delay repeated from Gramercy Park in full and intelligible form, but arrived too late, and the visiting statesmen so reported to Gramercy Park.

## I.

## DISCOVERING THE SITUATION.

On Wednesday afternoon, November 8, 1876, it became known to capable leaders of both parties that the Presidential election would probably turn on the vote of Florida. In South Carolina Mr. Tilden had fallen far behind the Democratic State ticket. In Louisiana it had been notorious for weeks that the Democrats, by systematic beatings and murders in counties formerly Republican, had rendered it possible for the Returning Board, in accordance with the peculiar law of that State, to throw out returns giving large Democratic majorities. But the four electoral votes of far-off Florida would suffice to secure the election of Mr. Tilden, if, as telegrams from the Democratic Committee in Florida declared, the majority of the popular vote in that State had been for Democratic electors. Not without reason THE TRIBUNE remarked on Thursday morning, the 9th, "Everything seems to hinge upon this State. \* \* \* It is just possible that the election is not over—and we wish Mr. Magone had not suddenly left this city last night." He went to Philadelphia, and there met "Duke Gwinn," the reputed manager of Mr. Tilden's secret campaign, and Senator Kelly, of Oregon, who started for home at once, and whose deeds—are they not recorded in the notorious "Gabbie" dispatches, deciphered by THE TRIBUNE?

Florida had been bullied and bribed, "bulldozed" and terrorized, through a long and fierce campaign, until even the most hopeful Republicans had almost lost confidence that their scattered friends in that State, mainly colored citizens, could stand up against the assault. On the day of election, Republican judges and clerks were driven from the polls by force, the boxes were stuffed with fraudulent Democratic votes, and in at least one precinct were afterward seized and burned, to make sure that the fraud should not be disclosed. Jackson County, which had 700 white and 1,169 colored citizens, and had given nearly 800 Republican majority in 1868, and nearly 400 in 1874, was thus made to return a Democratic majority of 106. Proofs of these and many other frauds were produced before the Canvassing Board, and afterwards before Congressional Committees. And yet the staunch Republicans of that State had so well resisted bribery, fraud and force that, when the returns began to come in, the Democratic managers found that they had been beaten. At once they set out to steal the State by fraudulent returns, and, imitating the skill of the practised pickpocket, began to cry out in public dispatches that "the Radicals intend fraud." Appeals for "money" and "material aid," professedly to resist these "intended" frauds, but

really to secure fraudulent returns for Mr. Tilden, went from Florida on the 9th to "Duke Gwinn" at Philadelphia, and to the National Democratic headquarters at New-York, accompanied with assertions that "the State had gone for Tilden by at least 1,600 majority." No doubt Democrats at the North believed this assertion at first, but it is certain that some of the Democratic managers in Florida knew that it was false from the start. They needed money, however, and the following dispatches show how they obtained it:

[1.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 9, 1876.

To GWINN, Philadelphia:

We need money to resist Radical pranks. State is for Tilden.  
A. L. RANDOLPH.

[2.]

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 9.

RANEY &amp; BLOXHAM:

We will attend to everything east and north of Suwannee. You take middle and west in hand. Expense will be paid. Draw on Payne if you need money.  
J. J. DANIELS.

[3.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 9, 1876.

To A. S. HEWITT, Everett House, New-York:

Our State has gone for Tilden and Democratic State ticket by at least 1,600. We learn that W. E. Chandler has left Washington for this place. Radicals intend fraud. We need material aid to check them. Can we get it?  
GEO. F. RANEY,  
Of State Ex. Com.

[4.]

Nov. 9, 1876.

A. S. HEWITT, Everett House, New-York:

Send a good man here to represent your committee, with an understood cipher.

W. D. BLOXHAM. GEO. P. RANEY,  
for State Com.

[5.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 9.

W. D. BLOXHAM,  
GEO. P. RANEY.

Telegram rec'd. He has gone on.

ABRAM S. HEWITT.

On the night of the 9th, John F. Coyle, a notorious lobbyist of Washington, who had been rendering "invaluable services" for Tilden in North Carolina, started southward.

[6.]

RALEIGH, N. C., Nov. 11, '76.

HENRY HAYMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.

Met this here safe Weldon noon Rome arrived well not things have at look although of on Fox Webster Ed give me Thomas instructions me particulars yet with to-night and came full seen train Brooklyn.  
MAX.

The cipher is now "understood" by others beside those who used it. By applying Keys III. (for the first 15 words), and VI. (for the last 20 words), the following translation will be obtained:

[Translation.]

Arrived safe. Met Rome at Weldon this noon. Things look well here, although have not yet seen Fox. Ed. Webster, of Brooklyn, came on train with

me. Give me to-night full particulars and instructions. Thomas. COYLE.

The fact that "Max" is John F. Coyle is proved by the following telegrams, and by many others presently to be given :

[7.]

WELDON, N. C., Nov. 2, 1876.

Colonel W. T. PELTON, *Everett House, N. Y.* :

Just discovered frauds. Our tickets are printed wrong. Have ordered new tickets all over the State. I go to Raleigh next train. Such a fraud may have been perpetrated in other States. Warn our friends everywhere. MAX.

[8.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 2, '76.

JOHN F. COYLE, *Raleigh, N. C.* :

Telegraph me nature of the frauds.

W. T. PELTON.

Dispatches from Coyle to Havemeyer, throughout the telegraphic correspondence, were often answered by Colonel W. T. Pelton, and were obviously intended for him and for Mr. Tilden, though sent to a trusted friend and near neighbor to avert suspicion. In other unimportant dispatches to Mr. Havemeyer, Coyle chronicles his progress from Weldon, Wilmington, Flemington and Charleston. In one from Raleigh, just before starting, he says to Havemeyer, "Bar-num should go to Louisiana with Senators, and also Fox; I know it's the thing to do." Thus early, the experienced Coyle had apprehended what sort of "mule-buyers," and what "invaluable services" Gramercy Park would need at the South. For himself, he proceeded to business the very day he arrived at Jacksonville, as follows :

[9.]

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 13.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 *West 17th-st., N. Y.*

Just arrived; had no communication with that party. Will telegraph fully every day. MAX.

[10.]

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Nov. 13.

[To same.]

In nine one plyne of twelve ten thirty hold Italy sixteen thirteen eleven information will eight that three England first and go immediately seven twenty afternoon twenty situation one to-morrow. Sent two Tallahassee seven twenty four has meeting to thirty. MAX.

[Translation.]

Necessary supply telegraphic credit of Payne in First eight Bank five thousand three hundred dollars. Information that Board will hold canvassing meeting immediately. Coyle and Raney go to Tallahassee to-morrow afternoon. Coyle has sent dispatch situation. COYLE.

To translate this dispatch, the words must first be transposed by Key VI., repeated, and the numerals afterward interpreted. The Payne intended was James H. Payne, President Florida Savings Bank of Jacksonville, and Treasurer of the Democratic State Committee, but in transmission the word was turned into "plyne," and Mr. Havemeyer (or Colonel Pelton) could not understand it, as the following shows :

[11.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 14.

JOHN F. COYLE, or G. P. RANNEY :

On what one six cant have seven and frequently uncertain twenty twenty seven forty be and whom name made to be advise one nine fifty. H. H.

[Translation.]

Have telegram. Name uncertain, telegraphic credit whom to be made and what bank. Cant Coyle on fifty. Advise frequently and be prompt.

The transposition key is No. VII. The numeral 50, being not elsewhere used, may refer to any bank or person in New-York, the obvious meaning being, "Cannot Coyle draw on" some person. But Coyle and Raney had not arrived, and when they reached Tallahassee they found the following, of which two words are lost :

[12.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 15.

JNO. F. COYLE, or G. P. RANNEY :

Report — forty captain one twenty twenty whe as you to one eight nine — stated two for Brown thirty by five waiting twenty thirty. H.

(Use Transposition Key VII.)

[Translation.]

Telegram waiting for you. Forty two thirty — Brown who — telegraph to twenty eight. Report requirements as stated by Bank. Captain.

[13.]

Nov. 14.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, *esq.*, No. 15 *West 17th-st., N. Y.* :

Am en route to Tallahassee; reach there to-morrow afternoon. FOX.

It will appear hereafter that "Fox" was C. W. Woolley, of Cincinnati, who, leaving Louisiana, where he had been for some days engaged, sought in Florida a better field for the exercise of his peculiar gifts. But the long array of experienced vote-dealers would have been like an army without a general, in the opinion of at least one man, had not Mr. Manton Marble also arrived to take command on the 14th or 15th. His doings and first report now appear :

[14.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 16.

Colonel PELTON, 15 *Gramercy Park, N. Y.* :

Use hundred and forty cipher all to there advice some our must everything cordially necessary one coming remain our head received was absolutely driving no probably month was result this business to majority being evidence will truth but afoot Democratic establishing be that distances contriving but unquestionable clear nothing Democrats slow well followed preserve now be returns doubtless to may enormous claim county first board wrongly travel to be will move may canvassing purge and will our difficult Governor canvasser received Democrat three egregious action require returns able county of canvassing of already fraud one where state board being officers Republican with the immediate beginning legal other Georgia helpful very Governor while need Brown help questions counsel Sellers the arising no in we possible best also and Saltonstall remain can he Moses along and here on general called on army road to-day officers attorney Governor. [No sig.]

(Use Transposition Key VII. four times, and afterward Key V. twice.)

[Translation.]

Use hundred and forty cipher. Our coming was absolutely necessary. There was no head, driving everything to result. Some one must remain all this month. Cordially received; probably our advice will be followed. Clear Democratic majority unquestionable. Democrats contriving nothing but to preserve evidence establishing truth. That business now well afoot, but slow, distances being enormous, travel difficult. Canvassing Board doubtless may and will purge county returns. Governor may wrongly claim to be canvasser. Our first

move will be to require of the board of three State officers, one being able Democrat, immediate action, canvassing returns already received, beginning with county where Republican fraud egregious. Governor Brown, Georgia, very helpful. Sellers the best possible counsel in legal questions arising. We need no other help while he and Saltonstall can remain. Called on Governor, Attorney-General to-day; also on army officers along road and here.

MARBLE.

Undoubtedly Mr. Marble was one of those who really believed at first the assertions of local managers that there was a clear Democratic majority, and that "the Radicals" were "infernal scoundrels." Until about the 21st of November, it is charitable to suppose that some trace of this belief remained in his mind. During this first stage in the history of the struggle in Florida, the main effort of the Democratic managers was to obtain full proofs to submit to the Board, and Mr. Marble, believing that the board composed of three State officers would act honestly, had little idea of the proofs of Democratic fraud which the Republicans were accumulating. At that time he did not know, probably, that the local managers were holding back returns from some of the important Democratic counties for a sinister purpose. Meanwhile, Coyle was drawing money for expenses, and Woolley, detained somewhere, had not yet arrived. The accuracy of the translations of cipher dispatches can be abundantly illustrated by quotations from news dispatches published at that time, and it is important to note this verification of the keys used, because they also decipher subsequent dispatches of a very different character. The following telegrams were sent:

[15.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 17.

Colonel PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park, N. Y.:

Truth board frauds our contrived no purge slowly Democratic will official prove friends only returns canvassing the arrive to seeking committed move law power gives returns expedite our the will by board and our published first is opinion on friend to-day will returns received already canvassing authority [—] of usurp our by this will greatest Governor petition risk demanded he have course and certificate transmit to lieutenant for canvass Moses law is of Republican and that both precedent there result.

[No signature.]

(Use Key V. four times.)

[Translation.]

No Democratic frauds contrived; our friends only seeking to prove the truth. Official returns arrive slowly. Canvassing board will purge returns. The law gives power, and our friend on Board is committed by published opinion. Our first move will expedite canvassing of returns already received. This will be demanded by petition to-day. Our greatest risk [is] Governor will usurp authority to canvass and transmit certificate of Republican result. There is both law and precedent for that course.

MARBLE, LIEUTENANT.

The "friend on board," was Attorney-General Cocke, who had so publicly proclaimed his opinion and purpose that objection was made to his acting on the board, at its first meeting.

[16.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 18.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:

Ten Jacksonville Jacksonville it requested eleven

place J have one Payne England notify twelve from one. If four immediately Daniels as not J you Ital'.

W. CALL,  
J. J. DANIEL,  
MAX.

(Use Key VIII.)

[Translation.]

Have you provided five thousand three hundred dollars telegraphic credit Payne, as requested from Jacksonville? If you have not, place it telegraphic credit J. J. Daniel, Jacksonville. Notify immediately.

[17.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 18.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:

Our particulars us England twenty slowly for for twenty twelve say progress some surely one friends seven we news send Moses three Moses upon but

MAX.

(Use Key VIII.)

[Translation.]

We progress slowly, but surely, our friends say. Marble telegraphs particulars. Draw upon twenty three for five hundred for Marble. Send us some news.

COYLE.

[18.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 19.

Col. PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park:

To Russia repeating twenty-five cipher only returns demand our circuit know Herald what shall we of from will counties to Monday shall work news we hitherto apply Monday have to received London canvassing hope Louis also judge command from Emmons some for from to for restraining cooking for fairness Louis order opinion begin whose returns to Louis to we opinion us that Brown Louis soon canvasses notice he thinks cooked promise to obtained London of yesterday publish very not give means meanwhile to I are returns and of rather London Greece Secretary declare State returns game because judge for is their all convening result intercept delays under voice ground declare that not has her to on he in authority and may canvass that Louis lose Florida returns statute then and superseded has integrity proceeding Kasson will I him his Choate Barlow fool promptly he soon estimate Chandler upon see of O'Conors leaves for called they telegraphed visits Barlow we advised and Noyes wasted to shall Monday others are three otherwise proffer continue mean after cooperation to unless comptroller coming Robertson on Moses.

(Use Key VII. seven times, beginning to number after the word "only.")

[Translation.]

To Tilden, repeating twenty five cipher only. Herald will have news of our work hitherto Monday. We shall demand to know from what counties returns received. Monday we shall apply to Circuit Judge, from whose fairness some hope for order restraining Governor from canvassing returns. Also for command to Board to begin. Emmons cooking opinion for Governor that he, not Board, canvasses. We obtained yesterday promise of Governor to give us notice. Brown thinks Governor means very soon to publish cooked opinion and declare result for Hayes. I judge their game is rather to intercept returns. Secretary of State meanwhile delays convening Board because all returns are not in. Then Governor, on ground that Florida may lose her voice, and that he has authority under superseded statute to canvass returns and declare. I promptly called see Barlow, proceeding upon O'Conor's estimate of his integrity. They will fool him. He has telegraphed for Choate. Chandler leaves soon. Kasson, Noyes are coming after Monday. We mean to proffer cooperation to Controller. Shall continue unless otherwise advised.

MARBLE.

[19.] New-YORK, Nov. 19.

**MANTON MARBLE:**  
Or must dispatch B. for not received trust D  
Thomas that you Charles sends for. W.  
(Use Key IV.)

[Translation.]  
Dispatch received. You must not trust B. or that  
for D. sends for. Thomas Charles.

[20.] TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 19.

**Col. PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park:**  
Have us making of honesty, purposed willingness  
to-day only his trusted infernal B troublesome  
nobody writes scoundrels France these to whether  
and in suggestions writing to result should receive  
declare France as we wish or ascertain to London  
make to belief went for electors presidential of over  
to-day vote out in Chandler this their France emis-  
saries professes authority undoubtedly game shall  
in to local cook state Moses fire probably night I  
France backing for not bell certificate ring in alter-  
ations.

(Use Key V.)

[Translation.]  
Purposed only making honesty of B. (Barlow)  
troublesome to these infernal scoundrels. Have  
trusted nobody. Governor to-day writes us his  
willingness to receive in writing suggestions we  
wish to make as to whether Governor or Board  
should ascertain and declare result of vote for  
Presidential electors. This their game undoubtedly.  
Chandler professes belief in Governor's authority.  
To-day emissaries went out over State, probably to  
cook local backing for alterations in Governor's  
certificates. Shall I not ring fire-bell in night?

MARBLE.

As an illustration of the correction of the transla-  
tion, see the following letter, quoted in the affida-  
vit of Governor Stearns, submitted to Judge White  
five days after:

'S. PASCO, Esq.

"SIR: Referring to the inquiries made of me by you  
and other gentlemen last evening, I have to say that I  
shall be very happy to receive from you in writing  
any suggestions you may desire to make as to the ques-  
tion whether the Governor or the State Canvassing  
Board should ascertain and declare the result of the  
vote for Presidential electors. M. L. STEARNS."

It will be seen that Mr. Marble, as translated by  
THE TRIBUNE keys, quotes the Governor's exact  
words.

[21.] Prob. Nov. 19.

**HENRY HAVEMEYER, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.**  
Bayne useful once P very here may Lawrence at  
concurs if Smith be sent Perry come of necessity  
him let carriage from come will take if in and there  
he way answer the Thomasville by MAX.  
(Use Keys III. and VI.)

[Translation.]  
Lawrence P. Bayne may be very useful here if  
sent at once. Perry Smith concurs in the necessity.  
Let him come by way of Thomasville, and take car-  
riage from there. Answer if he will come. COYLE.

[22.] New-YORK, Nov. 20.

**To MANTON MARBLE, Tallahassee:**  
That be it Green Cole judge is Ashbel A Thomas  
advised Charles H. see. DENMARK.  
(Use Key IV.)

[Translation.]  
**MANTON MARBLE:**  
It is advised by Judge Ashbel Green that you see  
A. H. Cole. Thomas Charles. PELTON.

[23.] Nov. 21, 1876.

**To Colonel PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park, N. Y.:**  
Try to have the documents which the Associated  
Press will soon receive to-night sent over the country  
by Western, New-England, and other agents. Pray  
stop sending any more people here. They delay  
business, and take up more time than I can possibly  
spare in utterly needless consultation and palaver.  
Every new one needs the education and local  
knowledge I have been a week in acquiring. The  
business is all perfectly in hand, and every point  
guarded. Heartily glad to see Perry Smith and  
Gibson, of course, who arrived to-day. Who is  
Parris? Judge Robertson returns home to-morrow.  
Everything looks well. MANTON MARBLE.

[24.] TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 21.

**HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:**  
One proceedings culminating twenty legal W  
tells Moses matters by arrived reinforced of yester-  
day Radicals seven twelve Wallace others and it to  
distance to gave agents Noyes half Drew sent France  
for Kasson and for MAX.

(Use Keys III. and VI.)

[Translation.]  
Marble's dispatch tells of legal proceedings.  
Woolley arrived yesterday. Matters culminating.  
Radicals reinforced by Noyes, Kasson, Wallace and  
others. Drew for two hundred and a half. Gave it  
to Drew for agents sent to distance. COYLE.

This draft of Mr. Coyle's on "Twenty-three" was  
not paid, and he telegraphed the next day to  
Colonel Pelton direct:

[25.] TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 22.

**Colonel W. T. PELTON, No. 59 Liberty-st., N. York:**  
Caused is twelve William you am judge three  
Thomas France may notified embarrassment Daniel  
on Charles and for twenty half Jane immediately  
draft protested correct. MAX.

(Use Key VII.)

[Translation.]  
Am notified draft for two hundred and a half  
on twenty three is protested. You may judge em-  
barrassment caused. Correct immediately. Thomas  
Charles Jane Daniel William. COYLE.

Perry Smith added his remonstrances; Mr. Coyle's  
credit at headquarters being perhaps limited:

[26.] TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 23.

**W. T. PELTON, Everett House, N. Y.**  
Why not answer Max dispatch yesterday. impor-  
tant. Who is Parris that presents himself here with-  
out credentials? P. H. SMITH.

"Parris" was Mr. E. L. Parris, a New-York law-  
yer, who had just arrived to take a share in the  
labors of the campaign, and whom all the conspira-  
tors seemed at first inclined to distrust:

[27.] TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 23.

**HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:**  
With be to relations intimate cannot more other-  
wise consent much Moses act with strange in can  
cheerfully command can Parisians Florida Charles  
can probably useful Jane discouraging in Anna  
critical at be more though Fox rate not any there  
useful.

(Use Key V., twice.)

[Translation.]  
Cannot consent to intimate relations with  
strange Parisians. Can act cheerfully with  
Marble in command; otherwise can be much more  
useful in ——. Probably can be more use-ful there  
at any rate. Florida critical, though not dis-  
couraging. Fox (Woolley). Charles Anna Jane.

[28.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 23.

**JOHN F. COYLE, Tallahassee:**

One reliable—is most-of Parris should Jane implicit him and reliance accorded. H.

(Use Key III.)

[Translation.]

Parris is one of (us) and most reliable. Implicit reliance should (be) accorded him. Jane.

[29.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 23.

**P. H. SMITH, Tallahassee:**

Telegram received. Party you ask about entirely reliable; a good lawyer and useful counsellor.

W. T. P.

[30.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 23.

**G. W. WOOLLEY, Tallahassee:**

Refer can fetch as reliable the him me safe with is here if you you to talk Warsaw possible lose perfectly with don't as party Europe here he cards to is of and old trustworthy pointed hold professes from me you as to Jane what out shuffler do an party. THREE.

(Use Key VIII, twice.)

[Translation.]

Telegram here. The party you refer to is perfectly reliable. You can talk as safe with him as with me. Don't lose fetch if possible to hold. Is party from Louisiana you pointed out to me here as an old-shuffler of cards trustworthy, and do what he professes! Jane.

[31.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 21.

**Colonel PELTON, No. 15 Gramercy Park:**

Use Hudson times Danube cipher knowledge counties past not belief local copies twenty imbecility certified of get till yesterday whole Schuylkill full situation Moses could accurately it Glasgow Schuylkill twenty give not seventeen Potomac would Mississippi give Havana Syracuse Glasgow Syracuse estimated and counties twelve county refuse much throw to strain to scoundrels London wholly Ithaca Potomac out Moselle Rochester would Manatee only thirty Glasgow too and Moselle nineteen Glasgow throw to sent out Hay narrow margin Havana Rochester Moses Thompson is yesterday county Alachua to others perfect proofs our Alachua Moselle there to into fortify to to-day Moses us and Manatee thoroughly jurist dispatched working Louisiana Moses not must other came regretting counties Wilkinson Fox been name Cole arrived leaving act yesterday arrived already county questions working arrives Biddle Sunday of communicated is power (one word dropped) for to-day Sellers purpose Barlow neighboring heretofore yesterday went suspend will never denounce will France downright unless but be Florida rope exercise may in London to Senate France, give to Moses fight close is fair no earliest unquestionably needs wise best and hard it stages possible at do will till and except powers full further Moses perfectly assistance discreet withdrawn for which will is trustworthy granted some taken be. [No sig.]

(Use Key V. ten times.)

[Translation.]

Use four times five (i. e., 20-word) cipher. Local imbecility past belief. Not till yesterday could Marble get full knowledge of whole situation. Twenty-seven counties, certified copies, give six hundred twenty-seven Republican majority. Twelve counties give estimated accurately eight hundred and seventeen majority. It would not strain Board much to throw out two hundred thirty-six Manatee County Democratic votes, only scoundrels would refuse wholly to throw out two hundred nineteen Republican votes Alachua County. Margin is too narrow.

Marble yesterday sent Thompson and Hay to Alachua to perfect our proofs. To-day Marble dispatched jurist to Manatee to fortify us thoroughly there, and others into two other counties Marble must not name. Cole already arrived been act (ively) working. Fox arrived yesterday, regretting leaving Louisiana. Wilkinson came Sunday, is working. Biddle arrives to-day. Sellers went yesterday for neighboring county, [for] purpose heretofore communicated. Barlow questions power of Governor, but never will denounce exercise; may give Governor rope to suspend Florida in Senate. Unless Board will be downright fair, unquestionably fight is close and hard. Will do best possible to win it at earliest stages. Marble needs no further assistance, except full powers, which will be taken for granted till withdrawn. Is Rome perfectly trustworthy and discreet? MARBLE.

[32.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 21.

**Col. PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park:**

All France next Biddle after man on restraint mentioned command he just in last went upon brought for has dispatch France Wednesday lost returning life London Moses associated nearly morning shall have now better publish press got documents we fight.

(Use Key V.)

[Translation.]

Man mentioned next after Biddle in last dispatch has just brought all he went for, restraint upon Governor, command on Board. Nearly lost life returning; now better fight; we have got Governor. Shall publish documents associated press Wednesday morning. MARBLE.

In the exact correspondence of the events here narrated, and results claimed by each party, with news dispatches published at the time, will be found conclusive proof of the correctness not only of the keys, but of the interpretations given to cipher words. Mr. Sellers, for example, did go to the adjoining county, Gadsden, to the residence of Judge White, at Quincy, and obtained on the 20th temporary writs of injunction forbidding the counting of votes by the Governor, and mandamus requiring the Board to proceed to canvass, as the following states:

[33.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 21.

**General J. B. GORDON, Columbia, S. C.:**

Thanks; yes, will use if expedient. Stearns contemplates usurping canvassing under old superseded statute, and winning by cooked certificates. I expose him North to-day, and that is not all. Good and sufficient force here now, well organized. Tell Randolph that job he should have let Fox manage has been too engrossing night and day for me to telegraph. Will exchange news hereafter. We shall put Uncle Sammy through, and end the reign of thieves. MANTON MARBLE.

## II.

## MANIPULATING RETURNS.

Up to about November 22 it may have been possible for Mr. Marble and other visiting Democrats to believe the assertion that Florida had voted for Mr. Tilden. But it must have been observed by the 22d that the local managers were holding back heavy Democratic returns, while trying, even by mandamus of a circuit court, to compel the Board to open other returns before all had been received, and thus enable the Democrats to ascertain exactly

what majorities they had to manufacture. For some days, Mr. W. E. Chandler's dispatches to THE TRIBUNE had been earnestly demanding the production of returns from Polk, Brevard and Lafayette counties, which finally gave 750 Democratic majority. From this time, *not a line was sent by Mr. Marble, even in his most secret ciphers*, or by any other Democratic operator in Florida, as far as we can learn, implying a belief that the Democrats had any right to the vote of the State; the sole question was whether they could get it, right or no right. For some days, they clung to the plan of holding back and altering returns, but Republican tactics defeated that game. Meanwhile, the suggestion in dispatch No. 30, from New-York, about "an old shuffler of cards," indicated the drift of thought in that quarter, and Mr. Woolley began to speak his mind through Mr. Marble, thus:

[34.]  
TALLAHASSEE, NOV. 22.

Colonel PELTON, No. 15 Gramercy Park:

Or in let Moses for Fox either immediately do say contingencies asks here answer got you forces to together be not why me read Louisiana.

(Use Key VII.)

[Translation.]

Woolley asks me to say, Let forces be got together immediately in read (iness) for contingencies either here or Louisiana. Why do you not answer?

MARBLE.

What sort of "forces" did Mr. Woolley want to have held in readiness? Armed forces? Had the suggestion come from Mr. Watterson, of Kentucky, "between the sherry and the champagne," that might have been the meaning. But Mr. Woolley is not a man of blood. He is a man of business. The "forces" which he understands how to use can be carried in the vest pocket. As yet, however, there was some reliance on the returns, and Coyle telegraphed on Saturday, the 25th, as follows:

[35.]

TALLAHASSEE, NOV. 25.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, *esq.*, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.  
Ten party for twelve England count on despondent thirty to friends seven commences Monday confident of our to-day sixteen forty. MAX.

(Use Key VI.)

[Translation.]

Draw to-day for five hundred dollars expenses of party. Board commences to count on Monday. Our friends confident; Republicans despondent.

Mr. Coyle, however, was not in the full confidence of either his associates in Florida or his employers in New-York. The advice from Woolley and Marble about "getting forces together" had been understood. Mr. Smith M. Weed, just returned to New-York from an unsuccessful expedition to South Carolina, where he tried to buy the Returning Board, assumed the congenial duty of replying to this recommendation, and his telegram was addressed to the E. L. Parris mentioned in the recent inquiries from Tallahassee. The medium of communication was the "Dictionary Cipher," which Mr. Parris alone of the Florida agents seems to have possessed; and the key is applied by turning back one page. This mode of translation converts the signature "Whip" into "Weed."

[36.]

NEW-YORK, NOV. 24.

E. L. PARRIS, Tallahassee:

Recognize forewarning to peruse Socinian and ad-measurement us here ear antipode of boon beehive prop signature interesting auditory appertinent couple antiphon. WHIP.

[Translation.]

Read following to Peri [Perry] Smith, and acquaint us here. Cannot antagonism of Board be prevented. Should *instantly*, AT ANY COST. ANSWER. WEED.

Mr. Woolley was not deceived about the situation:

[37.]

TALLAHASSEE, NOV. 26.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17-st., N. Y.

Try Lieutenant weather shall here very Charles useful bad captain to storm I stay be elsewhere or more the through. FOX.

(Use Key V.)

[Translation.]

Very bad weather here. Shall I stay through the storm, or try to be more useful elsewhere, Lieutenant Captain Charles. WOOLLEY.

Apparently Mr. Woolley had expressed his view of the situation so freely to other Democratic workers in Florida that Mr. Marble became unhappy. It was the plan of Moses to put on airs of righteousness as long as possible, and, even if at the end votes must be bought, to buy them as a pious duty. Mr. Woolley, however, had no taste for thin self-deceptions, and the two did not wholly agree, but Gramercy Park assumed full responsibility for Mr. Woolley, and told him to stay, for reasons which Mr. Marble finally came to understand fully:

[38.]

TALLAHASSEE, NOV. 27.

Colonel PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park.

You to by then telegrams you advise neglecting person here that and counsels to causing result and divided trust one imperilling answer find Do will one authority in trust way I to least nobody's him and him possibly transfer calendar at two week to best for stand my Parris Rome copies here now about be returns always certified should Glasgow recalled Fox same useless Havana on upon claim ditto detectives Syracuse needless and indiscreet to impediment begun Russia as man decline in and with Louisiana so sessions nobody all trusted nuisance I by aforesaid concurs a commit Smith Moses.

(Use Key VII., four times.)

[Translation.]

You are imperilling result here by causing divided counsels and neglecting to answer telegrams. I advise that you find one person to trust and then trust him for at least one calendar week, possibly two. I will stand in nobody's way, and do my best to transfer to him authority. About 100 majority on certified copies; Republicans claim same upon returns. Rome needless now, should be recalled. Parris and detectives always useless, ditto Woolley here as (in) Louisiana a nuisance and impediment, trusted by nobody. I decline to commit Tilden with man so indiscreet. Smith concurs in all aforesaid. Session begun. MARBLE.

It will be observed that Mr. Marble here confesses that the pretensions of local Democrats of "1,600 majority for Tilden" have dwindled to "about 100 majority on certified copies," and has begun to think of operations in regard to which he "declines to commit Tilden" with any indiscreet man. How could Mr. Tilden be "committed" dam-

seriously in connection with honest and lawful efforts?

Of the same day Mr. Marble began to stir himself to capture a vote in Oregon, apparently unaware that operations had already been started in that State, by direct orders from New-York.

[39.]

Hon. LAFAYETTE F. GROVER, Portland (or elsewhere), Oregon.

It is respectfully suggested that you refrain from the issue of any certificate in favor of an elector alleged to have been chosen November 7th, who on that day was ineligible to that office, until you shall have been advised thereon. Reply at my expense, if you are unable to do this.

MANTON MARBLE.

[40.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 27.

GEORGE W. SMITH, 15 Gramercy Park, New-York: Governor suggested it to from from has here to issuing of been certificate refrain Oregon telegraph Warsaw of elector ineligible in Spain see favor to him not until advised O'Connor's my obtain opinion why thereon.

(Use Key's IV. and V.)

[Translation.]

It has been suggested from here to Governor of Oregon to refrain from issuing certificate in favor of ineligible elector until advised thereon. Why not obtain telegraph him O'Connor's opinion? See my dispatch to Spain.

M.

[41.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 28.

To Colonel PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park, N. Y.:

Please yourself about economies suggested. Coyle exceedingly useful hitherto. You did not answer my inquiry about Paris, and only mention him at this late date. That promotes unity of action, I suppose. Mention names of Florida friends when you wish to learn how much weight their several requests deserve. Fox impedes daily. It's no relief that you assume responsibility for difficulties he makes. Don't fail to read message to Smith, fifteen and twenty cipher.

M. M.

On the 28th day of November, the Democratic operators entered upon the third and final stage of their political "Rake's Progress." They were abounded when the returns were opened that day to find that, instead of the majority of 93 which fraudulent returns had been made to give them, they were beaten by 42 majority on the face of the returns. From Baker County, which they had counted 94 majority for Tilden, an official return gave 41 majority for Hayes. In order to overthrow that return, they would be compelled to affirm the power of a Republican Board to correct errors and frauds in the county returns, and then all the rascality of the returns from heavy Democratic counties like Manatee and Monroe would be exposed. In the end, the board did correct the Republican return from Baker, and gave the Democrats 136 votes more than the official return had given, but they also corrected the Democratic returns from Manatee and Monroe, cutting down the Democratic vote by 577. As soon as it was known that the board must go behind the returns, or declare the State for Hayes, consternation reigned among the Democratic schemers gathered in that dingy room in a dilapidated State House at Tallahassee. There were present, say press dis-

patches of that date, besides Democrats of Florida, the following from abroad, every one of whom has been named in THE TRIBUNE's translated ciphers: Manton Marble, Paris, G. W. Biddle, D. W. Sellers, Sam' G. Thompson, and Malcolm Hay, of Pennsylvania; C. W. Woolley, of Ohio; Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts; John F. Coyle, of Washington; Perry H. Smith, of Chicago; Charles Gibson, of St. Louis, and ex-Governor J. E. Brown, of Georgia. Any examination of the returns would inevitably uncover and defeat the Democratic frauds, if the members of the Board were honest. Then it was that Mr. Marble and Mr. Woolley proceeded to business.

III.

### BUYING A VOTE.

The earliest direct suggestions of bribery appear to be in the dispatches of Woolley and "Whip," Nos. 34 and 36. These were sent before the operators in Florida knew that their manipulations of returns had failed, and no direct replies appear. But only two days after the Board had opened the certificates, and found a majority for Hayes on the face of the returns, Mr. Woolley discovered that the pious and polysyllabic Marble had not only commenced "business," but was getting into the way of the worldly and "indiscreet" Woolley himself. Therefore he telegraphed:

[42.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 30.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.: Fetch Daniel to that see wire Charles private Moses Captain contracts abstain the children this Jane from is Israel of.

FOX.

(Use Key V.)

[Translation.]

Wire Moses to see that the children of Israel abstain from fetch contracts. This is private. Jane Daniel Captain Charles.

WOOLLEY.

"Fetch" is one of the few words which have not been very satisfactorily translated; it was not even understood by Mr. Woolley's correspondent in New-York. He replied:

[43]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 1.

C. W. WOOLLEY, TALLAHASSEE:

Dont understand; explain.

HAVEMEYER.

Mr. Woolley was then kind enough to translate the word "fetch" in the following:

[44.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 1.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.: Making Jane said you to I William enemy privately Daniel propositions Moses last night to Captain from the stop to

FOX.

(Use Key V.)

[Translation.]

I privately said to you last night to stop Moses from making propositions to the enemy, Captain Jane Daniel William.

WOOLLEY.

Is it to be believed that Mr. Woolley was shocked at the thought of buying up a Republican member of the Canvassing Board? In view of his dispatch about having "forces in readiness for contingencies either here or Louisiana," will anybody believe it? Or did Mr. Woolley really think that his chief

Mr. Tilden, would be shocked? Had he conceived of Mr. Tilden the conception thus expressed by Mr. Marble: "The signal and peculiar mark of that plan was this: his absolute trust in moral forces; his entire faith in the people, their volitions and their power. And why, of all men in the United States, should not he?"

But what is to be said of Mr. Marble's virtue? He transmitted in his cipher Mr. Woolley's request for "forces," and yet, five days afterwards, was chiefly worried because Mr. Woolley was "indiscreet." It was not the dishonor or criminality of such use of "forces" that troubled Mr. Marble, but the impression that Mr. Woolley did not cover his business with enough veneering. Why, then, should Mr. Woolley, the blunt and straightforward trader, want to stop the propositions of Mr. Marble, whose trading was veneered with patriotism and varnished with piety? Because, unfortunately, *Marble and Woolley were bidding against each other for the same vote, and putting up the price*, which Mr. Woolley was "discreet" enough to see did not pay. Exactly what proposition was first transmitted to Gramercy Park by Mr. Marble, or his financial aid, Mr. Coyle, does not appear; some dispatches of the series are missing. But the following show that something very important and strictly financial was proposed:

[45.] TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 1.

Col. WM. T. PELTON, 59 Liberty-st., N. Y.:  
Answer Max's dispatch immediately or we will be embarrassed at a critical time. W. CALL.

[46.] NEW-YORK, Dec. 1.

MANTON MARBLE, Tallahassee, Fla.:  
Meet supplied consult read may yes able been to but be to to be who Smith with request has Daniel can't telegram your and requirements. F.  
(Use Key VII.)

[Translation.]  
Yes, to your request, but consult with Daniel who has been supplied and may be able to meet requirements. Telegram to Smith can't be read.

PELTON.  
J. J. Daniel, it was shown by dispatch No. 16, was the person through whom telegraphic transfers of money had been arranged November 18.

[47.] NEW-YORK, Dec. 2.

J. F. COYLE, Tallahassee:  
Twenty one nineteen unless you have nineteen five again. H.

[Translation.]  
Telegram received. Unless you have received will remit again. HAVEMEYER.

Other dispatches, not of great importance, though they illustrate the later events, may best be inserted here:

[48.] TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 4.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.  
Forty ten twenty Anna will you cover twelve promptly one probably will all Jane and Captain seven immediately Italy Greece Daniel me three which notify. MAX.

[Translation.]  
You will supply immediately telegraphic credit Coyle seven hundred dollars, which will probably cover all expenses. Notify me promptly. Captain Daniel Jane Anna. COYLE.

[49.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 5.  
HENRY HAVEMEYER, esq., No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:  
Not notify ten Thomas nine, three Moses and this twelve, immediately Greece will place twenty, takes one Italy seven W. its any and what need. MAX.

Use Key VII.

[Translation.]

Supply seven hundred dollars telegraphic credit Woolley and Coyle, and notify what bank immediately. Marble will not need any. This takes its place. Thomas. COYLE.

The Board had opened the returns on Tuesday the 28th of November, had heard evidence on both sides patiently, and was obliged to reach a decision within a few days. From the beginning Attorney-General Cocke had been counted safe by the Democrats. Dr. Cowgill, formerly of Delaware, was a staunch Union man, and Mr. Marble had said it was "wasting" time to call on him. Secretary of State McLin, for twenty-two years a resident of Florida, was once a Confederate, but afterward a Union man, and a Republican editor of reputation as an upright man, but the conspirators needed one vote, and what they tried to do let the secret dispatches show:

[50.]

Certificate required to Moses decision have London hour for Bolivia of just and Edinburgh at Meselle hand a any over Glasgow France rec'd. Russia of  
Use Key VII.

[Translation.]

TALLA., Dec. 2.

Colonel PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park:

Have just received a proposition to hand over at any hour required Tilden decision of Board and certificate of Governor for 200,000. Marble.

Did Mr. Marble or Mr. Coyle actually receive such a startling proposition? Mr. McLin has sworn that such a proposition was made to him, not by him, and there has been an issue of veracity on the matter between him and Mr. Marble, who denies that he had any talk with McLin on the subject. But the question of grave importance is not whether Mr. Marble deceived others or himself, but what had Gramercy Park to answer. This:

[51.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 3.

MANTON MARBLE, Tallahassee:

Warsaw here. Bolivia Brasil. (No sig.)

[Translation.]  
Dispatch here. Proposition too high. (?)

Mr. Marble was not satisfied with this answer. He went to Mr. E. L. Parris and requested that gentleman to represent that his "plan" must be acted upon immediately. Mr. Parris thereupon seems to have sent the following dispatch in the "Dictionary Cipher." It is not signed, but as Parris was the only man in Florida, so far as can be learned, who used that cipher, there can be no difficulty in determining the authorship. The key is applied by turning back

one page, and the translation thus obtained for the word "match" is Marble.

[52.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 4.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.

Scarf secured sheer distances settee you advanced to husky heart affectioned with functionary sleeper sauce-box exempt tidewater undertaker match school plinth settee you scarfy nascent beehive admonish upon implacable overhung worry underbrush plinth unlandlocked to untransomed. Sixteen twenty-one twenty-three kneel preeminenced your lightning.

[No sig.]

[Translation.]

Saturday secured. Several dispatches sent you addressed to house. Have advised with friend. Situation same; everything uncertain. Marble says plan sent you Saturday must be acted upon immediately; otherwise unavailing. Plan unknown to undersigned. Sixteen, twenty-one, twenty-three just presented your letter.

What was "secured Saturday"? That day (December 2) was the date of Marble's proposal to purchase the Board for \$200,000. Mr. Marble asserts that he transmitted the offer indeed as a matter of news, but that he indignantly repelled it "on the spot," and yet here he urges that it be acted upon immediately. Gramercy Park, however, had reasons not known to Mr. Marble for considering his "Bolivia" decidedly "Brazil," for on the preceding day the following had come from Mr. Woolley:

[53.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 1.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.

Sixteen Fetch may make thirteen forty of half of a twelve eleven ten. Can you say two in nine immediately in twenty.

Fox.

[Translation.]

Board Fetch may make necessary expense of half of a hundred thousand dollars. Can you say will deposit in bank immediately if agreed?

Whatever significance may be given to the word "fetch," which, it will be remembered, Mr. Havemeyer (or Pelton) failed on a former occasion to understand, there can be very little doubt as to the meaning of the proposal. And the reply of Gramercy Park was:

[54.]

2:25 p. m.  
NEW-YORK, 1 Dec.

C. W. WOOLLEY, Tallahassee.

Twenty one nineteen two ten twenty cannot however seven before twenty four thirty seven nineteen reply forty six.

H.

[Translation.]

Telegram received. Will deposit dollars agreed; (you) cannot, however, draw before vote member received. Reply promptly.

We have no evidence that Mr. Havemeyer ever sent this damning answer, or that he ever read either the answer or the dispatch to which a reply signed "H." was sent. He received dispatches; it is probable that Gramercy Park read and answered them all. But it is now apparent why the Marble-Coye \$200,000 "Bolivia" was not held good.

Probably Mr. Woolley learned that bargains were going on behind his back, for he telegraphed:

[55.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 2.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:

More in select have have whom some you you in confidence one winning evidently than.

Fox.

(Use Key IV.)

[Translation.]

Select some one in whom you have more confidence than you evidently have in Woolley.

WOOLLEY.

The reply, signed "W.," might probably as well have been signed W. T. Pelton, and needs careful reading:

[56.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 3.

C. W. WOOLLEY, Tallahassee:

Perfect you what power we could and answer you cannot belief declined all telegraphed do do all application no in and stay private has you have needless other prevent here

W.

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

ALL HERE HAVE PERFECT BELIEF IN YOU. We cannot prevent needless. — NO OTHER has POWER, AND ALL APPLICATION DECLINED. STAY AND DO WHAT YOU TELEGRAPHED YOU COULD DO. PRIVATE. ANSWER.

W.

"All here" at Gramercy Park—what does that mean? What was it that Mr. Woolley "telegraphed he could do," which needed not only the secrecy of a cipher, but the injunction "Private" within that cipher? Mr. Woolley was private—so private that the following dispatches, covering precisely the same proposition, went to Gramercy Park in two distinct ciphers.

[57.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 3.

Colonel PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park, N. Y.

Preventing Moses best Bolivia or from Glasgow vote London documents united Rochester states half giving [one word dropped] concurrence electors his cast being court either of in received of action for Havana.

(Use Key X.)

[Translation.]

Proposition received either giving vote of [one?] Republican of Board, or his concurrence in Court action preventing electors' vote from being cast, for half hundred best United States documents. [For \$50,000 in U. S. notes]. Marble.

[58.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 4.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.

Half twelve may less thirty eleven winning ten additional seven for five Lieutenant sixteen Russia.

Fox.

(Use Key IV., and after transposition translate the numerals in accordance with their meaning, in all other dispatches in the same cipher.)

[Translation.]

May Winning [i. e., Woolley] give hundred thousand dollars less half for Tilden additional Board member? Lieutenant.

Woolley.

There is not much room to doubt what either of

these propositions means. "Hundred thousand dollars less half," means exactly the same as "half hundred best United States documents."

Mr. Marble cannot deny the authorship of the above dispatches signed (within the cipher) "Moses." For it will be found hereafter (see dispatch No. 66) that he said on the 5th of December, in plain English and over his own signature, "Finished yesterday afternoon responsibility (as) Moses." These, however, it may be said, were only propositions. How did Gramercy Park reply? The conspirators waited, devoured with anxiety. To Woolley came only this answer—to his impatient soul how torturing!

[59.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 4.

Col. C. W. WOOLLEY, Tallahassee:

*Act divided time ruin him counsels each all important you in Warsaw other of you may see have or conjunction consult him lose will with and coincide you must Israel.*

[No signature.]

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

*See Israel and act in conjunction with him. You must coincide, or you will ruin each other. Have telegraphed him consult you. Time important. Divided councils may lose all.*

Mr. Woolley rushed to "Israel," or "Moses," or Marble, but not one word had he received except the following unintelligible dispatch:

[60.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 3.

MANTON MARBLE, Tallahassee:

*Lima should important in once be concert councils and better if trust you can fox done time him divided act only Bolivia with and consult here.*

[No signature.]

Mr. Marble could not read this. No one of the conspirators could read it. The day was slipping away, and the Board might decide on the morrow. Mr. Marble telegraphed:

[61.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 3.

Col. PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park, N. Y.:

*Tell Spain to repeat his message in my cipher. It is unintelligible.*

MANTON MARBLE.

Meanwhile Mr. Woolley received the following:

[62.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 4.

Colonel C. W. WOOLLEY, Tallahassee.

*Given Rochester that have London will not fully advise you use reported so need Lima, Rhine to here if us.*

W.

(Use Key VI.)

[Translation.]

*Reported here that Board have given us one vote. If so you will not need to use acceptance. Advise fully.*

This plainly implied that power to draw and use money had been sent to somebody, but to whom? Mr. Woolley could not learn, and in hot haste he denied knowing anything about the "Rhine" (one) vote, or the "Lima" (acceptance) said to have been sent.

[63.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 5.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:

*No one here knows meaning of words Lima Rhine.*

FOX.

But at last came the answer to Manton Marble himself. Let "the keen bright sunlight of publicity" fall upon it.

[64.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 4.

MANTON MARBLE, Tallahassee:

*Lima should important in once be concert council and better if trust you there very no Warsaw can Fox done time him divided act only Bolivia with and consult here.*

[No sig.]

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

**Telegram here. Proposition accepted if done only once. Better consult with Woolley and act in concert. You can trust him. Time very important and there should be no divided councils.**

Here, then, was the authority so anxiously awaited. Here was the authority implied, but not received, in the dispatch to Woolley. "If done only once," because Woolley and Marble had sent the same proposition, and Gramercy Park did not want to pay twice for the same vote! Sent, hours ago, in that unintelligible dispatch which Marble had tortured all his keys in trying to read, because four words had dropped out of it in transmission, viz.: "then very no Warsaw." Here was the order to buy one Presidency of these United States for "half hundred best United States documents." And the desired vote? The conspirators rushed out—and it was too late. The following dispatches tell the story:

[65.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 4.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.  
Saturday William if power joined forty further twenty have Charles necessary be Jane you late ten sixteen will with and six twenty too to against secured five from advise appear.

FOX.

(Use Key X.)

[Translation.]

Power secured too late. Twenty-five ten appear to have joined with Board against contract from Saturday. Will be prompt and advise you farther if necessary. Jane Charles William. WOOLLEY.

[66.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 5.

Colonel PELTON, 15 Gramercy Park, N. Y.:

*Bolivia Laura. Finished yesterday afternoon responsibility Moses. Last night Fox found me and said he had nothing, which I knew already. Tell Russia saddle Blackstone.*

[Translation.]

Proposition failed. Finished yesterday afternoon responsibility (as) "Moses." Last night Woolley found me and said he had nothing, which I knew already. Tell Tilden to saddle Blackstone.

One secret yet remains: Had the conspirators reason for their hope? They can tell, if anybody will now believe them. Mr. Woolley's dispatch, nearly unintelligible, seems to imply a belief on their part that Attorney-General Cocke, who voted with the Republican members of the Board, to throw out Democratic fraudulent returns from Key West, had been influenced by "dollars." The one thing certain is, that the "dollars" were ready to make Samuel J. Tilden President, but the vote was not. Perhaps they came too late. But if, in the secret purpose of any trusted and sworn member of that Board of three, upon whose action depended the

fate of forty millions of people, there lurked a thought of treachery and crime, the God of Nations saved this land from ruin and dishonor, for his lightnings refused, until it was too late, to bear intelligibly the shameful order to consummate the crime, and held their secret until the danger had passed. He who gave to the poor black in the dim Everglades of Florida the power to defend his rights by his vote; He who inspired the newly enfranchised citizen to stand like a rock for justice, for equal rights and the honor of the Nation, when proud white citizens by the thousand wavered, voted blindly, or sold themselves; He also turned to foolishness all the schemes of Gramercy Park, and all the money of Wall-st. The secret cipher meant nothing when four words were gone. It came at last in full; the buyer stood ready and the money was there, but the vote was not delivered, and the Nation escaped disgrace.

In view of the facts here presented, the following dispatches published at the time, will be found deeply interesting:

[67.]

TALLAHASSEE.

To JAS. GORDON BENNETT, *Herald*, New-York.

Confidential: I assure you, upon my honor, that

I cannot find any fraudulent Democratic voting in all Florida; that I can prove thousands of illegal Republican votes. Do not talk of partisanship in the face of infamous and fraudulent schemes that should make any honest man blush with shame to be a Republican.

MANTON MARBLE.

[68.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 3.

W. T. PELTON, *Everett House*, New-York.

Our people will prove themselves by their firmness and forbearance worthy of the sympathy and confidence of the National Democracy and all good men of the North. We only ask in this crisis that the voice of the freemen of the North find such prompt and decisive expression as to compel the recognition of their rights. Telegraphic dispatches indicating this sentiment received here within the next forty-eight hours will be most potent in producing this result.

J. J. DANIEL.

[69.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 5.

J. J. DANIEL, *Tallahassee*.

The people of the North look with great anxiety to the final action of the Returning Board in your State to-morrow. All that is desired is a fair, honest count of the votes actually cast so that the will of a majority of your people, as expressed at the ballot box, shall prevail. To this end the country will sustain you in every lawful remedy. It is to be hoped that right and justice will prevail.

W. T. PELTON.

## THE SOUTH CAROLINA TELEGRAMS.

### THE EXPEDITION OF MR. SMITH M. WEED TO COLUMBIA.

#### BRIBERY AND VIOLENCE.

A great fraud, which the American people have not condoned, and never will condone—never, never, never!—[SAMUEL J. TILDEN. *Speech on the steps of No. 15 Gramercy Park, Oct. 27, 1877.*

The cause I have represented has embraced the largest and holiest interests of humanity.—[SAMUEL J. TILDEN. *Speech at Gramercy Park.*

The public interest in an honest, skilful performance of official trust must not be sacrificed to the usnfruct of the incumbents.—[SAMUEL J. TILDEN. *Letter Accepting the Presidential Nomination, July 31, 1876.*

A few thousand dollars, and the whole atrocious conspiracy would have been bursted like a puff-ball and blown away in dust.—But I apologize for the suggestion. First, I apologize to Governor Tilden for confronting his character with the morally impossible.—[MANTON MARBLE. *Letter on "The Electoral Commission," Aug., 1878.*

So that, besides a plan of campaign, here were "arsenals of ammunition" provided, and lethal weapons fashioned to the hand of every hater of fraud.—[MANTON MARBLE. *Letter on "The Electoral Commission."*

The signal and peculiar mark of that plan was this: His absolute trust in moral forces; his entire faith in the people, their volitions and their power. And why, of all men in the United States, should not be!—[MANTON MARBLE's *Letter on "The Electoral Commission."*

The story of the secret operations of the Democratic managers in South Carolina comprises a series of frauds extending over the whole period from the first announcement of the vote in November until the actual assembling of the electoral colleges on the 6th of December. As soon as the critical condition of the contest became known, Smith M. Weed, the leader of the Tilden Democracy in the New-York State Convention of September, 1878, started for Columbia. On the day of his arrival at that place he transmitted by telegraph to the Tilden headquarters in New-York a proposal to bribe the Returning Board. Later on the same day he made a more definite proposal, which "Denmark" promptly accepted. Negotiations were conducted for six days; the price was at last fixed at \$80,000; and Mr. Weed started for Baltimore, where a messenger was to meet him with the money. Through a little delay at the last moment the scheme was ruined, for the Returning Board suddenly wound up its proceedings and dispersed in order to avoid the interference of the State Supreme Court. The dispatches relating to these events are written in the same transposition cipher which was used in Florida. A new cipher then appears, relating to money transactions of less moment. And then a third cipher discloses a plot to capture the electoral vote, partly by violence and partly by the corruption of the Legisla-

ture; its culmination being an attempt directed from New-York, to lock up the Hayes electors in jail on a charge of contempt of the void orders of an usurping court, and keep them there until the day of the voting had passed.

### L. THE FIRST ACT.

The first returns from South Carolina in November, 1876, gave the State to the Democrats, but within a few days the aspect of the situation greatly changed. It soon appeared that the vote on Governor was close, and that Tilden's vote was considerably behind Hampton's. So uncertain was the result that on the 11th of November, four days after the election, General Wade Hampton telegraphed to New-York that his own majority was about 1,400, and that of Tilden somewhat less, while Governor Chamberlain at the same time telegraphed that after giving the Democrats everything that they could plausibly claim, the Republicans still had a majority of 3,200 on the Presidential electors and 2,100 on the State ticket. Other Republican authorities claimed a majority in the State of 7,000 for Hayes, and 5,500 for Chamberlain. The fact was that the returns on their face (as it afterward appeared), gave the victory to the Republicans by a pretty close vote; but in two counties, Edgefield and Laurens, the fraud, violence and intimidation had been so flagrant that there was little doubt the Canvassing Board would throw out their entire vote, and this would put both Hayes and Chamberlain very far ahead. The Canvassing Board consisted of H. E. Hayne, Secretary of State; T. C. Dunn, Controller General; William Stone, Attorney General; F. L. Cardozo, State Treasurer; H. W. Purvis, Adjutant and Inspector-General, and M. J. Hirsch, Chairman of the House Committee on Privileges and Elections. All these officers were Republicans; Hayne, Cardozo and Purvis were colored men. Hirsch was a candidate for the office of Solicitor of the Third District, and did not act with the board, which was thus reduced to five members. It was the duty of the board to receive and canvass the returns of the County Election Commissioners for Presidential Electors, Members of Congress, Members of the Legislature, and all State officers except Governor and Lieutenant-Governor; the votes of these two officers were to be canvassed by the new Legislature.

The chance of Tilden's securing South Carolina under these circumstances appeared so slight that when Mr. Marble, Mr. Woolley, Mr. Coyle and the other noted Democrats dispersed themselves over the South for the purpose of "watching the count," the public apparently forgot to observe who took charge of South Carolina, and the daily papers which fully reported the movements of the gentlemen who visited New-Orleans and Tallahassee, omitted to record the names of the committee detailed to proceed to Columbia. Several eminent Democrats, however, had reached the capital of South Carolina by the middle of the month. Among them were Senator and ex-Governor T. F. Randolph

of New-Jersey, Senator John B. Gordon, of Georgia, Montgomery Blair, A. H. H. Stuart and Captain G. V. Fox, ex-Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Most of these gentlemen appear to have confined their activity to the management of legal proceedings in the State Supreme Court, to a supervision of the proceedings of the Returning Board, and to other legitimate actions; and it is almost certain that ex-Governor Randolph at any rate—to say nothing of the others—had no suspicion that "a still hunt" was going on all the while, under daily instructions from Gramercy Park. The person intrusted with the real business of the campaign was Mr. Smith M. Weed, long known as one of Mr. Tilden's closest political friends.

The Canvassing Board was required by an old law, passed at a time when elections were held in October, to meet on the 10th of November, and complete the count in ten days. On the 10th, of course, the returns were not in, and the board could only adjourn from day to day while awaiting them. It fixed upon the 10th as the time for beginning the count of Presidential returns. This would give it six days to finish the canvass, as (allowing for two Sundays) its existence would terminate at noon on the 22d.

### THE SECRET AGENT ARRIVES.

On the 10th of November Mr. Smith M. Weed was in the Democratic Committee Rooms at the Everett House, in New-York, where he made the impressive remark to a reporter of *The Herald*: "It is very close, but we have carried the Union honestly, and that is the whole thing in a nutshell—we have carried it honestly." He appears to have left the city that afternoon, for on the following day he is known to have been on the same train with John F. Coyle, ("Max.") going South, and on the 12th he was at Raleigh, N. C., where it was alleged at the time in a dispatch to a New-York paper he registered at the hotel under an assumed name. Coyle meanwhile had gone on to Charleston, whence he sends a cipher dispatch to Mr. Henry Havemeyer, New-York, stating that the counting of the votes of South Carolina will begin at Columbia on the 16th, and adding: "Telegraphed W. to go there." On Monday the 13th, the South Carolina Canvassing Board perfected its organization, and the same day Mr. Weed arrived on the field of action. The promptness and evident relish with which he set about the affair upon which he had been sent, must have satisfied Gramercy Park that here was the right man in the right place. "Moses," before he got down to the business of bribery, filled a bushel measure with cipher telegrams about "frauds" and "infernal scoundrels," and the ringing of the "fire-bell in night," and complaints of Woolley and Pelton. The secret agent in New-Orleans protests that "Rip has no common sense," and that "Bryant will stand no

damned foolishness." But Mr. Smith M. Weed goes straight to the point, and in a dispatch of truly commercial brevity announces at once his arrival and the state of trade. Here is his first telegram, addressed according to custom to Mr. Havemeyer, but undoubtedly intended for Colonel Pelton:

[1.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 13.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., New-York:  
Very news say Copenhagen to from can Florida you count much in be give what Louisiana an placed if mixed insure London Oregon few intend things out a us here. WEED.

(Use Transposition Key IX.)

[Translation.]

Am here. Things very much mixed. Intend to count us out. *If a few dollars can be placed in Returning Board [to] insure, what say you?* Give news from Louisiana, Oregon, Florida.

Although the dispatch was addressed to Mr. Havemeyer, it was answered by "Denmark," and Denmark, as we have seen, is proved to be Colonel Pelton. The New-York bureau was still without definite news from the other States, and Mr. Weed's question about money was evaded.

[2.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 13.

To SMITH WEED, Columbia:

Those results advise Warsaw Rhine well watched Chili Florida and instantly as progress closely be gives they States unless are Carolina us—Edinburgh count received Louisiana out being Mississippi.

DENMARK.

(Use Key X.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received. [A word illegible] be Chili. Louisiana gives eight thousand, Florida one, unless they count us out. Those States, as well as Carolina, are being closely watched. Advise instantly progress and results.

Mr. Weed, however, pressed his inquiry about the money for the Canvassing Board.

[3.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 13.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., New-York.  
Me you do did to question when you to morning asked want where go supposed this until come to-night important and answer here Warsaw adjourned to-morrow London you. W.

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

Supposed you telegraphed me to come here. Did you? Board adjourned until to-morrow. *Answer to question asked this morning important to-night.* Where do you want you [me] to go, and when?

"Denmark's" answer was perhaps not quite so explicit as it ought to have been; but, as it will be seen, Mr. Weed had gone ahead in his trade, without waiting for it:

[4.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 14.

SMITH WEED, Columbia:

Will Utica and Thomas Chicago Warsaw you prevent keep America what here do often means fully exhaust with to every advise Lima remain the be.

DENMARK.

(Use Key VII.)

[Translation.]

Telegram here. Remain with Hampton [i. e. in South Carolina] and exhaust every means to prevent trading. *The expenses [of] what you do will be met.* Keep fully advised often. Thomas.

In the meantime the public had been led to believe that Mr. Tilden meant to conduct his South

Carolina campaign entirely by the machinery of the law. While Mr. Smith M. Weed was reconnoitring the Board, the avowed counsel of the Democratic party were arguing in the State Supreme Court. They first submitted their case to the Board of Canvassers, urging that the board had no power to revise, correct, or throw out any returns, but must only act ministerially in tabulating the figures reported to them by the county commissioners; the statutes conferring upon the board a quasi-judicial authority the Democrats held to be unconstitutional. It was hoped that the returns as they stood would elect a Democratic Legislature. Pending the consideration by the board of this theory as to its powers, the Democratic counsel applied to the State Supreme Court, November 14, for writs of prohibition and mandamus to restrain the board from exercising judicial functions and to prevent Dunn, Cardoso and Hayne, who were candidates for reelection, from passing upon their own cases. Thursday, the 16th, the day set for beginning the electoral count, was also the day appointed for the argument on the mandamus.

## BUSINESS.

Mr. Smith M. Weed seems to have cared very little about these forensic contests, believing that the desired result could be more surely reached by another road. He continued his still-hunt, and before receiving Colonel Pelton's dispatch No. 4, he put the following upon the wires:

[5.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 13.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.  
Absolutely Petersburg can procured be Copenhagen may Thomas prompt Edinburgh must if river take be you less London Thames will. W.

(Use Key VI.)

[Translation.]

*If Returning Board can be procured absolutely, will you deposit \$2,000 dollars?* May take less. Must be prompt. Thomas.

Colonel Pelton's reply to this inquiry has not been found; but the nature of it is plain enough from Mr. Weed's rejoinder:

[6.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 14.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.  
To situation prospects and Africa desperate intend Thames soon Europe report every mischief the Warsaw in dispatch in acting this will state all concert morning parties France in and received.

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

Dispatch received. *Parties to report this morning.* Chamberlain, Kellogg and Stearns acting in concert, and intend mischief in every State. Will telegraph prospect soon. The situation desperate in all three.

It is to be observed that Smith Weed never flattered Mr. Tilden with assurances that he had carried the State of South Carolina, or any other of the doubtful States. He was evidently in telegraphic communication with his fellow-laborers in New-Orleans and Tallahassee, so that "Africa, Europe and France" were not the only persons who "acted in concert" and "intended mischief." And while Mr. Marble was protesting that Florida rightfully belonged to the Democrats, and that they were ras-

eals who would keep it from him, and that he would "put Uncle Sammy through and end the reign of thieves," Weed invariably admitted that "Uncle Sammy" had failed to get enough votes. While every Democratic paper and Democratic orator throughout the land was claiming Tilden had carried South Carolina, and Hampton was telegraphing a similar assertion to the New-York press, Smith M. Weed dispatched a very different sort of intelligence to Gramercy Park. Remember that Hampton himself only claimed a majority of 1,400, and then read the following:

[7.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 14.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.

Figure France capture and over what see answer Europe Moselle Russia shall little and appearances about best hope Glasgow will up keep Oregon America be can Potomac behind Edinburg I. W.

(Use Key IX.)

[Translation.]

Best I can figure, Tilden will be over 2,600 behind Hampton, and see little hope; shall keep up appearances. Capture Louisiana and Florida. What about Oregon? Answer.

The Oregon scheme was set on foot just at this time. Mr. Marble telegraphed to Governor Grover about the end of November, suggesting that a certificate should be withheld from the post-office elector in that State, evidently supposing that the idea was novel and important; but the plot had already been working for a fortnight, and had nearly reached the point of "purchasing a Republican elector to recognize and act with" Cronin, when Moses offered his advice. The hand of ex-Senator Gwin, "Duke Gwin," appears in the early part of the Oregon manœuvres. It was seen likewise in Florida. It appears repeatedly in South Carolina. "Draw on me for whatever you need," he telegraphed to Wade Hampton, two days after the election; and later there are mysterious references to "Gwin's plan," by which at the very last moment South Carolina was to be taken away from the Republican column. Wherever there were secret transactions in those days, one heard of Duke Gwin.

On the 14th of November Mr. Pelton received discouraging news from Louisiana. Nothing had yet been done in Florida, Marble and Coyle being somewhere on the road between Jacksonville and Tallahassee. The situation indeed looked dark. Weed's "parties" probably did not "report" as promptly as he expected in the morning, and from the following curt message he appears to have lost patience with them:

[8.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 14.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.  
Warsaw they read all unchanged last are idiots can't situation. W.

(Use Key I.)

[Translation.]

Can't read last telegram. Situation unchanged. They are all idiots.

Moreover Mr. Weed's movements began to excite suspicion in Columbia, and his position grew uncomfortable. He proposed to hurry matters, and

then to turn over the negotiation to somebody else [9.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 14.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.

Things our yet working but, party are believe dont America, Russia nothing claims trading I here off definite party mixed seem I select if party in Edinburgh to Danube required disturb proceedings good don't shall to increase it man sure Africa river make to court as watched to better way down think over as turn is send Louis required am that and to Randolph here only well matter if if. W.

(Use Key VI; then Key VIII, twice.)

[Translation.]

Nothing definite yet, but working. Things mixed here. Our party claims Hampton party are trading off Tilden. I don't believe it. Proceedings in court don't seem to disturb Chamberlain party. Shall I increase to 50,000 if required, to make sure? Select good man to send down if required, as that is the only way. Am watched, and if as well think better turn over matter here to Governor Randolph.

DENMARK ACCEPTS.

The answer, this time was prompt and positive; for Gramercy Park too was becoming uneasy:

[10.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 14.

SMITH WEED, Columbia:

River can Warsaw Danube future go here to perhaps prospects if you for use necessary trust assist should some done person others must not to be to able and you that doubt it I name you you but is whether part see can Kennedy Utica on him here when advised with leaving you me see Potomac friend to-night train think reach what Russia Warsaw through go Syracuse you keep the do can is on conclusion. DENMARK.

(Use Key IV; then Key X twice.)

[Translation.]

Telegram here. You can go to fifty if necessary. Perhaps use future prospects for some part, but you must see that trading is not done. I doubt whether you can trust it to person you name. Kennedy and others should be able to assist. When do you think you can reach conclusion? Keep me advised. Telegraph what the majority is on Tilden. Friend will go through on train leaving here six to-night. See him.

"You can go to fifty if necessary; perhaps use future prospects for some part." Was there not in the famous letter of Mr. Manton Marble on the Electoral Commission a scaring denunciation of the infamy that would reward the "deputized go-betweens and real principals in the crime of reversing the actual returns," not merely with "the purchaser's own funds," but with "more immoral payments—public offices possessed through a crime and then prostituted for its reward," etc.?

The reference to Governor Randolph in the two dispatches last quoted deserves a word of mention. Weed evidently did not know the character of that honorable and straightforward gentleman. Colonel Pelton evidently did. "Denmark" was prudent not to "trust" such a man with an affair of bribery. And that Governor Randolph knew nothing of this secret business, and had no intimacy with Smith Weed is evident from the following telegram dated only a day later, and bearing his initials, which shows that he supposed nothing was doing in South Carolina, just when the negotiations for the purchase of that State were coming to a

head. It will be noticed that in reckoning up the Democratic workers he has not mentioned Weed. The message is not in cipher:

[11.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 15.

Colonel W. T. PELTON *Everett House, N. Y.*:

Stuart has gone home; Blair has to return to-morrow; Fox probably. This leaves me. I again repeat that this most important point is overlooked. Louisiana overcrowded. You cannot estimate the importance of sending a few well-known influential men by to-night's train. Argument before Court will run through Friday, and perhaps Saturday. We feel very well.

T. F. K.

"Overlooked"! One would hardly think so. But it may be doubted whether the Reformer in Gramercy Park "felt very well" when the following frank statement of his defeat came from his confidential man at Columbia:

[12.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 15.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 *West 17th-st., N. Y.*:

Careful returns of received copies from examination Warsaw out Monroe Moselle Moselle certified Rhine Thames America Glasgow Rhine state Rhine of Ithaca behind Russia officers by estimate Mississippi show Hudson elected Syracuse and Glasgow from about and America and balance full and as change exactly Edinburgh to in compel front and Moselle to have to-night returns it to power to-morrow know us court may shall state if over and electors we can Utica: clearly hope to-night of we get certain their London London as officers out Russia the also Rochester can will as defeat the we London Moselle for of its districts although of Schuykill it Syracuse uncertain save here all France in this care efforts where redouble places America don't live stay is with secret they Thomas and Lou- your Europe here to. W.

(Use Key III; then Key VIII twice; then Key VI; then Key VIII again twice.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received. Careful examination certified copies returns from 21 out of 32 counties, and estimate of balance, show Hampton elected by about 1,400 majority, and Tilden and Democratic State officers behind Hampton from 1,800 to 2,000. Shall have full returns and know exactly to-night, and it may compel us to change front in court to-morrow as to power of Canvassing Board over elector. and State officers; then if, as we hope, we can get Board to-night certain [by] clearly [merely?] trading districts we can save two out of the seven votes for Tilden. It's uncertain as it will defeat a majority of the Board, although they don't care to stay here with Hampton Governor. This is all secret here. Redouble your efforts in places where Kellogg and Stearns live [i. e. Louisiana and Florida.]

This dispatch contains 135 words, and lest Colonel Pelton should be unnecessarily bothered by the combination of keys necessary to make it out, Weed sent another cipher message right after it, as follows:

[13.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 15.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 *West 17th-st., New-York*:

First then long river Danube Warsaw Schuykill Thomas read Potomac. W.

(Use Key I.)

[Translation.]

Read long telegram—first sixty-five; then seventy. Thomas.

The "long telegram" is so full of matter for reflection that no one should fail to give it a most careful reading. Like all the rest of Mr.

Smith Weed's confidential communications, there is a plainness about it which is almost refreshing. This veteran politician is not the victim of enthusiasms or delusions. Never for one moment does he pretend to believe that his client has a good cause. Never for one moment does he conceal from the "claimant" the ugly truth that his case is a desperate one, and that the majority in South Carolina is unequivocally against him. He has the grace to say nothing of "fraud;" but he goes about his purchases in a plain, matter-of-fact way, and discusses rascalities as if they were the ordinary incidents of business. The Democratic party, through its lawyers in Columbia and its newspaper organs all over the Union, wrought itself to a white heat in maintaining that returning officers could only act ministerially and that it was a monstrous invention of Radical villany to assert that the duty of a Canvassing Board is to canvass. To this day the Democrats hold to the same idea. But here, in the very vortex of the excitement, Mr. Tilden's own man sits down quietly to count the returns "on their face," and finding that Mr. Tilden is defeated, even when the votes of the bull-dozed counties are included, he telegraphs: "This may compel us to change front in court to-morrow as to power of Canvassing Board over electors and State officers," and to rest all hopes of victory upon "getting the Board." As soon as they "got" the Board, they were ready to turn right about face, and claim for it the very powers which they were then begging the court to forbid its exercising. And this, as it will be seen in the sequel, is what they actually did! The Democrats of South Carolina will be edified by the discovery that Mr. Smith Weed proposed, after "getting" the board, to count in Tilden by sacrificing some of the local candidates; and there are several indications, in the course of the correspondence, that the relations between the Tilden clique and the Hampton managers were by no means cordial or confidential.

#### "GETTING THE BOARD. CERTAIN."

The arrangements for "getting the Board, certain," seem to have met with entire approbation in New-York, although, with characteristic caution, Mr. Pelton's principal urged Weed to "try and make one portion payable after votes are cast, and another portion after final result;" adding some touching observations on the subject of "good faith." To the scheme for "trading districts," however, he saw awkward objections, and being a man who values consistency, he expressed his views in a dispatch which would have done credit to Jack Bunsby:

[14.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 16.

SMITH WEED, *Columbia*.

Be decision undoubtedly should be last but favorable sustainable is had Warsaw to and upon it good there which ground would and here could consistent satisfied impossible it is sustain involve must inconsistencies upon else you electing be issue involved which would or in be papers action America to that [2 words omitted] Utica doubtless Vienna justified Rochester make portion all after by are re-

sult try after is and and prevented final another facts portion and important Lima there done these good are guarantee and but conditions faith very want some what should intended sufficient be you result is both Warsaw. DENMARK.

(Use Key VII four times.)

[Translation.]

Last telegram here. There is undoubtedly good ground upon which favorable decision could be had, but to be consistent and sustainable, it would and should involve electing Hampton, or else it would be involved in inconsistencies impossible to sustain. You must be satisfied that action upon which papers issue is justified by facts, and all trading is prevented. Try and make [one] portion payable after votes are [cast], and another portion after final result. Doubtless good faith is intended; but there should be some sufficient guarantee accepted. Both these conditions are very important. Telegraph result, and what you want done.

[15.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 17.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York: For this Warsaw the any way misunderstood all state take Ithaca is have definite Warsaw and America plan must soon will sure in officers would former. (Use Key VIII.) s.

[Translation.]

Must have misunderstood former telegram, for Hampton is sure any way, and this plan would take in all the Democratic State officers. Will telegraph definite[ly] soon

No. 15 is given here because it is evidently a reply to No. 14; but the messages often crossed one another on the way, and before the above lines were sent Mr. Weed had made rapid progress.

COMING TO TERMS.

The argument on the mandamus was set for the 16th, and on the night of the 15th Weed succeeded in obtaining from certain members of the Canvassing Board a definite proposition, though the terms were higher than he had been led to expect.

[16.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 16.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York. Too last do received answer night late Warsaw understand me don't want to quite you France Schuylkill Thames for night to Copenhagen us river giving late go electors of demand London Danube to the or last river Moselle river home think do least party shall want America to aid who river will are besides I Rhine get interceder indifferent the what from say no something. w.

(Use Key III; then Key VIII twice.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received too late to answer last night. Don't quite understand. Do you want me to go to home of Stearns [Florida]? Board late last night demanded 75,000 dollars for giving us two or three electors. The interceder will want something besides: think ten (thousand). What shall I do? Get no aid from Hampton party, who, to say the least, are indifferent.

[17.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 16.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st New-York: France Moselle over man greatest river with am Rhine exertions is there full in not here am power made state are chances but you where that be have should confident Rhine to morning in France be concert success is are Africa I the all this condi-

tional working authority communication Europe for Warsaw on act and that close and in for. s.

(Use Key IX twice.)

[Translation.]

Am confident that Florida is State where greatest exertions should be made. Have you man with full power there? Chances are not over one in twenty here, but am working for that one. Chamberlain, Kellogg and Stearns, are in close communication, and act in concert. The authority I telegraphed for this morning all to be conditional on success.

Mr. Pelton replied to both these telegrams at once, and his answer needs not a word of comment:

[18.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 16.

SMITH WEEB, Columbia.

Lima should Hudson to London be Warsaw willing Africa unite believe here to and if to it this prevent of best fix was success leave contingently France or can Chicago dependent in think Russia if soil am and final March Utica made inclined you on can't Jane to night open immediately to condition reliable France Anna Captain others Lieutenant exact in you that get see give go friends or visit our safely hands remain me better D.

(Use Key IV; then X twice.)

[Translation.]

Four telegrams here. Should be willing to accept, believe, if Chamberlain and Board unite to prevent trading and expense was made dependent on final success of Tilden in March. Am inclined to think Florida best soil. If you can fix this contingently or leave it open safely, or in reliable hands, you better visit Florida immediately. See that our friends remain; can't get others to go. Give me exact condition to-night. Captain Lieutenant Anna Jane.

The first agreement was for two or three of the electoral votes, to be obtained, perhaps, by the process of trading districts, hinted at in Dispatch No. 12. Further negotiation was necessary in consequence of Pelton's insisting that the obligation should be made "contingent on the result in March." To this the Board officers would not consent, but they agreed to give good measure, provided they got prompt pay, and to turn over all the seven electoral votes of South Carolina instead of the two or three originally promised.

[19.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 16.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.

Now bring safe river thing stuff river Warsaw man would as all Copenhagen to have on Warsaw for Schuylkill though Rochester Schuylkill receiving river the looks at Danube work received now London regular make him and it the certificates with I March depend of on other in on Baltimore will would but officers not meet think at could party morning that stakes to-night Thames have, and which but they agreed Moselle majority is set report I exact a consulting of will and assented the London is are with and status Warsaw answer Warsaw to spare me go definite you no Africa but to to-night and soon can France late to-day see will and me to Portugal its for Chicago withdraw (Use Key IX four times.) s.

[Translation.]

Telegram received. Looks now as though the thing would work at 75,000 dollars, for all seven votes. Have safe man to bring stuff on receiving telegram in morning. Think now I will meet him with party at Baltimore.

Could not make it depend on March, but would on regular certificate of Board and other officers. The exact status is that two of the Board have agreed and are consulting with the third, which is a majority, and will report to-night. They set stakes and I assented, but can withdraw. Portugal telegraphed Africa to-day to spare no cost. It's late for me to go to Florida but will see and telegraph you to-night. Answer me soon and definitely.

[20.] COLUMBIA, Nov. 17.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Waiting its very anxiously until receipt your am time decision, am expect Warsaw powerless important have let to-day you if I will Thomas immediately and France from go go answer elsewhere to court this certainty. W.

(Use Keys III and VI.)

[Translation.]

Am anxiously waiting your telegram. Until its receipt am powerless. Time very important. Expect decision from court to-day. If you have certainty elsewhere let this go, and I will go to Florida. Answer immediately. Thomas.

[21.] NEW-YORK, Nov. 17.

SMITH WEED, Columbia:

Morning Jones Thames here Danube Warsaw Anna Thomas of Captain speak Moselle full Warsaw when Charles this received before left. H.

(Use Key V.)

[Translation.]

Telegram of 35 [words] here. Full telegram left before 2 this morning; speak when received. Thomas Charles Jones Captain Anna.

Unfortunately this "full telegram" has not been found, but the nature of it may be inferred with perfect assurance from the alacrity of Mr. Weed's rejoinder:

[22.] COLUMBIA, Nov. 17.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York:

See Moselle try received perhaps hours parties Warsaw will conditions before get instantly answer and. S.

(Use Key III.)

[Translation.]

Telegram received. [Will?] see parties instantly, perhaps two hours before answer. Will try and get conditions.

#### ON THE RAGGED EDGE.

It is an interesting circumstance that although the negotiator apparently entertained no doubt of the "good faith" of the persons with whom he was dealing, he had little confidence in the value of the proposed purchase, and he constantly pressed his principals in New-York to buy elsewhere if they could. For one thing, he was embarrassed by the line of argument which the Democratic counsel had adopted in the mandamus case. Since his "careful examination" of the votes had revealed the "desperate" character of the situation, showing that Hayes was elected even on the face of the county returns, there was nothing he dreaded so much as that the Court might grant the writ which his own party asked for, and prohibit the Board from exercising judicial functions. If it did this, and the Board obeyed, there would be no possibility of delivering the purchased votes; and to "change front in court" at

this stage of the proceedings was not easy; even supposing that the lawyers, who were probably not aware of the secret negotiations, were willing to agree to it. This was a serious hitch in the arrangement.

[23.] COLUMBIA, Nov. 17.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York.

Yet will have closed not act ministerially arrangements other to prevent my London which unless court may parties compell fear works Chili of Monroe Rhine, simply left Blair certainty Randolph with no a and otherwheres hope Bremen for press. W.

(Use Key VI., twice.)

[Translation.]

My parties have not closed yet. Fear Court will compell Returning Board to act ministerially, which may prevent, unless other arrangement with commissioners of one county works. Press otherwheres Chili, for no certainty here, simply a hope. Randolph and Blair left.

The case was argued on the 16th, and on the 17th the Court issued an intermediary order, instructing the board to "canvass" the returns ministerially, in order to save time, and then to report the result to the Court. This was not a final decision of the cause; it only provided for a tabulation of the figures as they stood, leaving open the question of the power of the board to revise and correct them. The work of tabulation was performed immediately, and showed a majority for the Hayes electors ranging from 230 to 1,133, the average being 800, and a majority for Hampton of 1,144. And hereupon the Democratic counsel did promptly "change front in court" and demand that the board should be instructed to go behind the returns and correct "manifest errors" by the precinct reports which were in their possession! It was supposed that this was giving them just rope enough to let in Tilden but not enough to endanger the Democratic State ticket by allowing them to reject the intimidated counties of Edgefield and Laurens.

The way being thus cleared, Smith Weed pushed his negotiations zealously. The following is not transposed:

[24.] COLUMBIA, Nov. 17.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., New-York. Still hangs by the gills. Will Warsaw [telegraph] later. S.

#### THE CONTRACT CLOSED.

And then comes the long delayed announcement of success:

[25.] COLUMBIA, Nov. 18.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:

Have Rhine river as is of follows Edinburgh river Mississippi been of Rhine Copenhagen river Rhine Syracuse parcel to secured Danube Potomac river sent Chicago London Edinburgh be river of Danube Rochester given notes be of to America up Danube Edinburgh as be upon and land and Petersburg Rhine all Lima parties of Amsterdam to of or Edinburgh Glasgow Rhine Russia; secure shall to-night pack

every unless the try should friends Warsaw you to countermanding thing being receive without the me from by and Thames to sent inscription begiven the for intimidation I and God's fear it of Bavaria friends and their London and sake plan Copenhagen in of watching careful let and Africa Petersburg here force are of can whether night and France it have done Warsaw or be to Copenhagen decided Sunday will go ready this safe Baltimore reach be once in you do at Africa if. W.

(Use Key IX., five times.)

[Translation.]

Majority of Board have been secured! Cost is 80,000, to be sent as follows: One parcel of 65,000 dollars, one of 10,000, and one of 5,000; all to be five hundred or one thousand bills; notes to be deposited as parties accept, and given up upon vote of land of Hampton [i. e., State of South Carolina] being given to Tilden's friends. The three packs should be sent without inscription, and to-night, unless you receive telegram from me countermanding. Shall try to secure everything by the plan of deposit. The friends of Chamberlain and Bavaria [?] are here in force, and I fear their money and careful watching and intimidation of Board. For God's sake let it go if you can. Be safe in Florida or Africa [?]. Do this at once, and have cash ready to reach Baltimore Sunday night. Telegraph decidedly whether it will be done. W.

The answer seems to have been somewhat tardy, but Mr. Smith Weed made his preparations to start, and in the meantime he telegraphed again:

[26.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 18.  
HENRY HAVEMEYER, 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:

For my result do yourself mind it definite doubtful if B. its sure to but must shall and say meet trying worth get will me to-night London they prudent leave o'clock their Thames [—] by lowest Missouri change river London statement of Glasgow of Moselle errors answer Rhine face of within Russia's can Syracuse Rochester Mississippi on Greece show before. s.

(Use Key IX., twice.)

[Translation.]

Shall leave to-night for B. Meet me yourself, if prudent. Returning Board say they will do it, sure, and it's worth trying, but result doubtful to my mind. Must get definite answer before 8 o'clock. Statement of votes by Returning Board shows on face Hayes majority [off] 900; one of Tilden's [electors] within 230 of their lowest. Errors can change.

The majorities given in this telegram correspond exactly with the figures reported in the New-York

\* Possibly a slip of the pen for "America," which would here be understood in the sense of South Carolina.

papers of the 19th—an agreement which may be taken as evidence of the correctness of the keys to the cipher.

No doubt Mr. Smith Weed did get the "definite answer" he desired "before 8 o'clock," for he broke out in the following exultant dispatch:

[27.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 18.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, No. 15 West 17th-st., N. Y.:

Have at now must you, early Monday to-night ten Baltimore go looks in morning at Copenhagen I well Barnums the W.

(Use Key VI.)

[Translation.]

Looks well now! You must have the money at Barnum's in Baltimore early Monday morning. I go at ten to-night.

And he went. The New-York papers of the 19th of November contained a dispatch from Columbia, saying:

Smith Weed, who has been here since Tuesday, looking after Tilden's interests, leaves to-night for the North.

## II.

### THE SECOND ACT.

Did Mr. Smith Weed really go to Baltimore on this occasion? Did a "safe man" meet him there with "the stuff" in three packs? If yes, was this safe man the person whom he specially requested to meet him "if prudent"? The following extracts from the hotel registers answer all these questions:

"Hotel Arrivals, Baltimore, Monday morning, November 20, 1876.

"At Barnum's, SMITH M. WEED, of New-York.

"At the Mount Vernon House, WILLIAM T. PELTON, of New-York."

Both arrived early. Colonel Pelton was accompanied by a friend, with whom, after breakfast, he took a carriage, and in the course of the day it is positively known that this friend was in company with Mr. Weed at Barnum's Hotel. It is highly probable that Colonel Pelton was there too, although his movements have not been satisfactorily traced. But that he left New-York at that critical and anxious time, and made a night journey to Baltimore in obedience to Smith Weed's request, "You must have the money at Barnum's in Baltimore early Monday morning; meet me yourself if prudent," leaves hardly a possibility of doubting that he took with him the \$80,000 demanded for the "Majority of Board." It is morally certain that he did not go to Baltimore for the purpose of saying "No."

Before leaving Columbia it was necessary for Mr. Weed to establish a system of communication with somebody at the South Carolina capital, and there were obvious reasons why he should not trust the transposition cipher to any of the Southern politicians who were then attending to the affairs of the party. To say nothing of more serious matters, that cipher might lay bare the evidences of double-dealing with respect to Hampton. He expected to be absent only three or at most four days, and no very elaborate system of cryptography seemed to be necessary for so short

a time. He therefore drew up a little vocabulary of arbitrary "substitution ciphers," for use during the trip to Baltimore and back. It consisted merely of the adoption of a few proper nouns in place of the "tell-tale words" he expected to need—not a good cipher, because it arouses suspicions, and offers the greatest facility for shrewd guessing. If the specimens of this code were numerous, they could be deciphered with the greatest ease by means of comparisons. It happens, however, that the messages in which it was used are few and short, and with so little material it is impossible to prove the correctness of a key. The dispatches, therefore, are merely presented in connection with the narrative of events, and conjectural interpretations are offered, of the plausibility of which every man will judge for himself. Fortunately, these messages are not of great importance.

Who were Smith Weed's Columbia correspondents? They were two, and they signed themselves "Pope" and "Spain." The most active of the Democratic managers at Columbia during these days were Colonel A. C. Haskell, chairman of the State Executive Committee, and Senator Gordon, of Georgia, who paid particular attention to the acts of the Canvassing Board, and of whom one of the local Democratic leaders telegraphed to Colonel Pelton, "Gordon is a tower of strength to us." Weed was in telegraphic communication with both these gentlemen, and there is no indication that he telegraphed to any other person at Columbia. Which was "Spain" and which was "Pope"? This question seems to be clearly enough answered by a dispatch in which S. W. requests Colonel A. C. Haskell to "Please sugar Pope and Bull," etc. "Pope" then was not Haskell, and it may fairly be inferred that he was Gordon, and that Haskell was "Spain." Who "Bull" may have been is unknown; but as this is the only reference to him, the inquiry is not of much consequence.

It was apparently just after the meeting with Pelton that Mr. Weed sent the following dispatch to Columbia,—the earliest found in the new substitution cipher:

[28.]

BALTIMORE, Nov. 20.

General J. B. GORDON, Columbia:

Matters tea by London agent. Inform Spain and Jo news W.

The meaning of "London" is known already. "Jo" occurs a number of times in the course of the cipher in relations which leave no room to doubt that it means "telegraph." "Tea" is a word found only twice, and it appears to stand for "arranged" or "arrangement," but any interpretation which can be tested by only two instances is hardly better than a guess, and hence the following reading of the dispatch is offered, not as certain, but as highly probable:

[Translation.]

Matters arranged by Returning Board agent. Inform Haskell and telegraph news.

## MORE PROCRASTINATION.

But just at this moment, when the bargain seemed to be practically closed, procrastination and over-caution disarranged the whole scheme. Weed must have received a later communication from New-York, for on the same day he telegraphed again to General Gordon:

[29.]

BALTIMORE, Nov. 20.

General J. B. GORDON, Columbia:

Have Bath hold on to Cuba until York or April. May be little delay. W.

By a comparison of the seven instances in which the word "Bath" occurs, and a careful consideration of the events of the days to which these dispatches belong, THE TRIBUNE's interpreters satisfied themselves that "Bath" was the South Carolina Supreme Court; "Cuba" seemed to be the canvass of the electoral votes. "York" is found only twice, and in both instances it reads as if it might mean "fixed"; "April" occurs but twice, and is perhaps equivalent to "failure." These renderings of course are merely conjectural:

[Translation.]

Have the court hold on to the electoral votes, until fixed or failure. May be little delay.

Having dispatched this, Mr. Weed, instead of returning to Columbia, went to New-York by the night train to consult with headquarters. The books of Barnum's Hotel show that he left there after supper, and the books of the Mount Vernon House disclose the fact that Colonel Pelton and his companion returned to New-York by the night train. THE TRIBUNE announced among the "Prominent Arrivals" in New-York during the 21st: "At the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Smith M. Weed, of Plattsburg."

To understand the sudden change of plans it is necessary to see what was doing at Columbia. As already remarked, there was not the most perfect accord between the Tilden party and the Hampton party, and the proceedings in the Supreme Court did not always suit the secret plans of Gramercy Park. On the 20th, the power of the Board of Canvassers to go behind the returns was argued in the court, the Democratic counsel, who had now "changed front" completely, according to Smith Weed's proposal, asking for an order to compel the canvassers to revise and correct their figures, but to a certain extent only. The result of tabulating the returns for Presidential electors was publicly known, but it had not yet been reported to the Court, in compliance with the order of the 17th; the Court instructed the Board to report on the 21st. While this matter remained unsettled, it perhaps seemed to the persons who stood behind Weed and Pelton in this transaction that \$80,000 was a large sum to pay for votes which might never be cast; and it is not at all unlikely that they were tortured by doubts at the last moment whether the three purchased members of the Board were acting in "good faith," so Weed proposed that the Court, which had already usurped the authority of a sort of revisory Canvassing Board, should "hold

[Translation.]

Expense is too heavy for the electoral ticket, unless money is sent to Haskell. Five thousand is imperatively needed to prevent majority failing, and involving court and electoral vote. Telegraph Haskell to draw immediately.

It was perhaps not quite clear just yet at Gramercy Park what advantage it would be to the Reform candidate to capture the South Carolina Legislature, and Mr. Weed was not at all prompt in replying to the request for 5,000. But on the 23d the defeated Democratic electors brought an action against the Republican electors at Columbia to determine their title to office, and Mr. Weed's hopes revived:

[34.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 24—10:30 A. M.

Colonel A. C. HASKELL, Columbia:

Please sugar Pope and Bull and Jo whether anything can be York to effect Rome in London now. Tom abundant. Jo immediately. S. W.

[Translation.]

Please consult Gordon and Bull, and telegraph whether anything can be fixed to effect victory in Canvassing Board now. Money abundant. Telegraph immediately.

[35.]

COLUMBIA [No date].

S. WEED, Everett House, N. Y.:

Sugar held. Too late. London [adjourned? word blotted]. Bath firm, but Tom necessary. Send E. June to Spain immediately. POPE.

[Translation.]

Consultation held. Too late. Board adjourned. Court firm, but money necessary. Send 5,000 to Haskell immediately.

[36.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 27.

W. T. PELTON, Everett House, N. Y.:

Why don't Smith Weed answer Pope? This of last consequence. HASKELL.

At last the answer:

[37.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 27.

Colonel A. C. HASKELL, Columbia:

If E June can make Naples in House and York May, Spain can Paris as you Jo; otherwise cannot secure tea. S. W.

[Translation.]

If 5,000 can make majority in House and fix Senate, Haskell can draw as you telegraphed; otherwise cannot secure arrangement.

What this "arrangement" was, will be seen in the next Act.

## III.

## THE THIRD ACT.

In the dispatches between "Pope" and "Spain," at Columbia, and Smith Weed at the Everett House, the translators were compelled to abandon for a short time the safe ground of clear demonstration, and to embark upon the uncertain sea of conjecture. They got back now to a solid footing, for the remaining dispatches of the South Carolina story are in a cipher which can be read according to fixed rules. There are no more cryptograms of the "E June" class, but the same "dictionary code" is employed which was used by Parris in Florida.

## THE LAST PLOT.

The South Carolina Legislature met on the 28th of November. The excluded representatives of

Edgefield and Laurens Counties being refused admission, all the Democratic members of the House, accompanied by one Republican, left the Capitol and organized a House of their own at Carolina Hall, Counting the men from Edgefield and Laurens (who had no certificates), they numbered 64 members; without these they had 56; the Republicans had 59; the number necessary to a quorum of a full house was 63. The legality of both assemblies, therefore, was in doubt. There was no dispute about the Senate; that stood 18 Republicans to 13 Democrats.

In the latter part of November Mr. Hewitt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, published a statement that President Grant would recognize whichever House should obtain a quorum of members holding certificates from the Canvassing Board. This letter is probably referred to in the following dispatches (not in cipher), which give the first glimpse of the new Democratic plot:

[38.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 27.

ABRAM S. HEWITT, New-York:

Your letter of 24th inst. received. Your suggestions will be observed, but the event upon which success depends will not be effected unless aid is given. See Senator Gwin, and answer by telegraph to-day. Every hour is important. If you concur, telegraph me at once affirmatively.

A. C. HASKELL.

[39.]

Nov. 27.

Hon. ABRAM S. HEWITT, New-York:

Consult Dr. Gwin about his dispatch, and answer if I can act on it. WADE HAMPTON.

[40.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 27.

W. T. PELTON, Everett House, New-York:

Hewitt's letter, 24th, to Haskell received. Programme suggested is being followed. The contingency on which this turns depends itself on suggestions made by Gwin some days ago. Can we act it immediately? Consult, and answer without delay. J. B. GORDON.

[41.] NEW-YORK, Nov. 27.

General J. B. GORDON, Columbia:

What was suggestion of Dr. G.? No one here knows, and he has left. S. W.

The public does not know what the suggestion of Dr. Gwin was, because the answer to this telegram of Mr. Smith Weed has not been found; but the "programme" was speedily unfolded. It was, 1. To buy enough members of the Republican Legislature to make a quorum in the opposition body. 2. With the Democratic Legislature thus obtained, to count in Hampton and the whole Democratic State government. 3. To inaugurate these officers by the aid of the rifle-clubs, in spite of any opposition by the Federal authorities. 4. By means of the Democratic State government to declare the Hayes electors intruders, and issue a new set of certificates to the Tilden electors. 5. To attack the title of the Hayes electors also in the State court, and either force them to recognize the jurisdiction of that tribunal, in which case they would be enjoined from acting, or in case of their refusal to recognize it to imprison them for contempt.

on to the electoral votes" till the thing was fixed, or till it failed.

### THE SOUTH CAROLINA COURT.

What hidden springs of action moved that august tribunal over which Chief-Justice Moses presided it would hardly be worth while to inquire. On the morning of the 21st the Canvassing Board submitted the returns to the Court. They showed on their face the election of the Hayes electors and Republican State officers, with three Republican Congressmen out of five, and a Legislature Republican in the Senate by three majority, and Democratic in the House by four majority. The Legislature was to canvass the returns for Governor, and as the Democrats by this showing had a majority of one on joint ballot, the result would be the counting in of Hampton. In presenting the returns, however the Board reported that the votes of Edgefield and Laurens ought to be thrown out on account of outrageous frauds and violence, and that various palpable irregularities, etc., ought to be corrected. The consequence of doing as they recommended would be the choice of the Republican electors, and a Legislature Republican in both branches. The extraordinary behavior of the Court in this juncture is a matter of history. It commanded the Board to certify the election of all members of the Legislature who appeared to have the greatest number of votes on the face of the returns; *but in relation to the electoral ticket it took the opposite ground, and commanded the Board to revise and correct the figures according to the precinct returns.* And it was thus that "Bath" held on to "Cuba."

This order was issued on the 22d. But on the 22d at noon the powers of the Canvassing Board expired by limitation. Perceiving that the purpose of the Court was to prevent any canvass of the electoral vote (which would have been equivalent to giving the Presidency to Tilden), the Board met on the morning of the 22d, and before the orders could be served it had completed its work, issued certificates to the Hayes Electors and a Republican Legislature (five Democratic Assemblymen from Edgefield and three from Laurens being excluded), and then adjourned *sine die*, so that when the precepts of the Court were issued there was no longer a Canvassing Board in existence to receive them. With this sudden movement, brought on by the lawyers of his own party, Mr. Tilden's chance of getting the Board forever disappeared, and all the negotiations of Smith Weed were brought to naught. The result might have been very different if Tilden's secret agents and the local leaders of the South Carolina Democracy had not been so often at cross purposes.

Weed no sooner reached New-York than he placed himself at the end of the telegraph wire in the Everett House headquarters and began to send and receive cipher dispatches. The messages of "Spain" and "Pope" at this time seem to refer to small sums of money which may have been only for legal expenses, although some of them have a suspicious

look. In considering the translations, it is to be understood that while the reading of the transposition and dictionary ciphers is a matter of positive demonstration, these of Weed's rest only on guess-work, of which readers must form their own opinion. "E June" is the only cryptogram in the whole collection to which an initial letter has been affixed. It is a very common device to represent numbers by the first letters of the alphabet; and if "E" in this case means 5, "June" is probably "thousand." The dispatch, it will be observed, was written while the Democrats were exerting themselves to obtain from the action of the Court a Democratic Legislature which would count in Hampton:

[30.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 20.

SMITH WEED, *care of King, Everett House N. Y.*:  
Send E June immediately to Spain. February expect to get Naples House and — May; but E June can make Naples January. This will make Bath all right. Cuba postponed. Will remain in Bath and make Cuba January. POPE.

[Translation.]

Send 5,000 immediately to Haskell. February [?] expect to get majority House and — Senate; but 5,000 can make majority Democratic. This will make Court all right. Electoral canvass postponed; will remain in court and make electoral vote Democratic.

No. 30 it appears, was sent to Baltimore, and thence forwarded to New-York after Weed had left.

[31.] COLUMBIA, Nov. 21.

SMITH WEED, *Everett House, N. Y.*:  
Pope answered you last night. Send for it, Barnum's. We think Bath [Court] will close to-morrow and put Naples [majority] in the House and probably acquire Cuba [electors]. SPAIN.

### THE DRY TIME.

When the Canvassing Board adjourned *sine die* in order to avoid the mandamus and injunction, the Court nevertheless persisted in requiring from the members of it a compliance with the orders, although obedience was no longer in their power; and it was to the threats of fine and imprisonment by which Judge Moses sought to uphold his dignity that Pope probably refers in the following:

[32.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 22.

SMITH WEED, *Everett House, N. Y.*:  
Have January friends in New-York inform their friends by Jo in New-Orleans that Bath is firm and Cuba prospects bright. Scarcely a possibility of April. But February and July are hopeless. January House already secured by action in Bath. Answer about E June telegram sent to Barnum's Monday. POPE.

[Translation.]

Have Democratic friends in New-York inform their friends by telegraph in New-Orleans that court is firm, and prospects of electoral vote bright, scarcely a possibility of failure. But February [?] and July [?] are hopeless. Democratic House already secured by action in court. Answer about 5,000 telegram sent to Barnum's Monday.

[33.]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 23.

SMITH WEED, *Everett House, New-York*:  
Chicago is too heavy for Cuba unless Tom is sent to Spain. E June is imperatively needed to prevent Naples falling and involving Bath and Cuba. Jo Spain to Paris immediately. POPE.

and keep them locked up until the day for the voting was over.

### FUN AT THE FAIR.

Preparations for this complicated series of operations were made with all speed. The court issued an order to the Hayes electors to show cause why they should not be enjoined from acting, and made it returnable on the afternoon of the 5th of December, the very day appointed by law for the electors to meet and organize. The rifle-clubs were called together, and as a preliminary to their assembling Wade Hampton sent the following remarkable telegram:

[42.]

COLUMBIA, Dec. 2.

Hon. ABRAM S. HEWITT, *New-York*:

We apprehend further military interference. Protests from other State Legislatures would strengthen, in case you get them to act promptly. Public meetings will aid.

WADE HAMPTON.

[43.]

COLUMBIA, Dec. 2.

R. H. KENNEDY, *Greenville, S. C.*:

Fun expected at the Fair this week. Prepare for high sport. Let best boys come, but not too many unless well heeled.

V. E. McBEZ.

[44.]

JAMES ALLEN, *Florence, S. C.*:

Send up to-night all the right men possible. Inauguration may take place to-morrow. If rifles can be concealed, bring them. Don't wait till to-morrow evening. Come to State Fair ostensibly.

R. G. HOWARD.

[45.]

COLUMBIA, Dec. 3.

W. L. MAULDIN, *Greenville*:

You must go to Spartanburg. I will hold that train for you. Be ready at 12 o'clock to take Air Line train.

V. E. McBEZ.

[46.]

COLUMBIA, Dec. 3.

W. L. MAULDIN, *Greenville*:

I have telegraphed Cagle too. Perhaps you had better consolidate men. Extra train may leave Greenville to-night. Bring best men and tool-chest to Fair.

V. E. McBEZ.

[47.]

Dec. 3.

Gen. JAMES CONNER, *Charleston*:

The Hunkadori Club on the way here for a row to-morrow. See Pickens, and delay train till evening.

WADE HAMPTON.

[48.]

Dec. 4.

M. A. HUFFMAN, *No. 9 German-st., Baltimore*:

Send John Agnew by express twelve 32 and six 38 pistols. Great excitement. Full plate.

ARTHUR EMORY.

And General James Conner, the Democratic candidate for Attorney-General, and leading counsel for his party in the Canvassing Board cases, added the following:

[49.]

CHARLESTON, Dec. 3.

Major J. G. BAKER, *Columbia*:

Have modified my views about electoral vote. The course Hampton suggests is, I fear, necessary.

JAMES CONNER.

The newspaper dispatches at the time described the sudden gathering of armed men which followed these calls.

### COLONEL PELTON TAKES A HAND IN THE GAME.

The news of these proceedings reached Gramercy Park at a most exciting time. Woolley had just telegraphed from Tallahassee (Dec. 1) the offer of the Florida Returning Board for "half of a hundred thousand dollars," and Colonel Pelton had accepted it. Mr. Marble had transmitted (Dec. 2) the extravagant bid of \$200,000 for the same article, and had been told that it was too high. Patrick had concluded the negotiation for the purchase of a Republican elector in Oregon, and Mr. Pelton had given him notice (Dec. 2) that he had "deposited the eight as directed." But the plot at Columbia was anxiously watched, and the business of buying a few members of the Legislature—which was an essential part of the scheme—was really managed at Gramercy Park. About the 1st of December a confidential man was sent to Columbia, with Webster's "Pocket Dictionary" in his hand, and the following correspondence took place. The first dispatch is translated by turning back three pages in the "Pocket Dictionary":

[50.]

COLUMBIA, Dec. 3.

Col. W. T. PELTON, *Everett House, N. Y.*:

Cry caudalors roughs greengrocer ridgean enlightens maul these blackened ingress and that resource proboscis roughs yeoman enjoy siege diaphanous enlightens it is farmed shipwright may usury with ridgean imbosom and inestimable prophet guest navel may chess mote which cubes eater retrieve Hampton's un dikes upon cornusate of shipwright cellar gallantry wents inseparable farm to reconant in strip unexpected and henceforward transfuses gallantry tournament duplicity's if you geometry lunch antithesis navel nautical myth to be roughed if venesection nitrate hocus-pocus appurtonance to obstruct this dismantled by garnishes. Please acknowledge receipt forthwith.

F.

[Translation.]

County canvassers' returns give Republican electors majority; these believe incorrect, and that regular precinct returns will elect several Democratic electors. It is expected Senate may unite with Republican House and inaugurate present Governor morrow. May cause mischief which courts cannot remedy. Hampton's triumph depends upon contingency of Senate capture; four votes indispensable. Expect to raise in State twice and half times four thousand dollars, if you furnish like amount morrow morning; money to be returned if unsuccessful. Must have answer to-night. This dictated by friend Please acknowledge receipt forthwith.

F.

(The next is translated by turning back four pages.)

[51.]

COLUMBIA, Dec. 4.

W. T. PELTON, *Everett House, New-York*:

Literati oligarchy rook inefficient if not whence Hewitt's dress prow alley reprobate palanquin imperishable with lottery reduplicate with century broach cites evaporated dints curly office occlusions were shattered obsession paregoric imbricated when dints lot chagrin to publish samphire office requires wormed immaculate repeat for imperishable cowardling in paregoric hilarious. Telegram to Van received.

F.

[Translation.]

Last night's request important if not vital.

Hewitt's dispatch, President will recognize only House with legal quorum with Canvassing Board certificates, encouraged Democrats. Couple new negroes were seen necessary other House. When Democrats left Capitol to prevent riot, new recruits wavered; hope recapture for House convening in other Hall. Telegram to Van received. F.

Twenty thousand dollars is a large sum of money in South Carolina, and its use in capturing four Senators is not at all ambiguous. Here is Colonel Pelton's reply:

[52.] NEW-YORK, Dec. 4.

To F., care A. C. HASKELL, Columbia:  
Doubloon relinquary yeoman duet audience righteous of it yeoman sextuple siege enlightens afterwards purlieu.

(Turn back three pages.)

[Translation.]

Dispatch received. Will do as requested if it will secure several electors. Act promptly

[53.] NEW-YORK, Dec. 4.

To F. or A. C. HASKELL, Columbia:  
Your last not clear; words 10, 12, 13, 18, 21, 24, 28, 32, 41, 44, make no sense. Yours of last night was answered immediately in affirmative. Get it and act upon it. Answer immediately and full.

On Tuesday, the 5th of December, the day before the final vote, two very important orders in the legal part of the plot were to come before Judge Moses's court. The first was the return to the writ of quo warranto by which it was intended to eject the Hayes electors (provided the four votes could be obtained in the Senate); the second was a writ of mandamus to take the returns of the vote for Governor and Lieutenant Governor out of the hands of the Speaker of the

Republican House, and give them to the Speaker of the Democratic House. The management of both these affairs was dictated from Gramercy Park.

[54.] NEW-YORK, Dec. 4.

To F., care A. C. HASKELL, Columbia:  
Independence lanch on reckon wildfire bevy ceaseous — [?] if pains to devour pest assert to outright bevy dormouse incommode confederate for corporeal or it balcony the fal low of barb carcass miscall ilate bailer for corporeal promise bisect and estimate incommode would bevy asphyxia would bevy immolate to indi-pose them shot embezzle woman anecdote pry dike on your strip literati omnifarious unswathe lassitude us alliance. [No sig.]

(Turn back three pages.)

[Translation.]

Important judge on quo warranto to be obtained. In order to deliver paper appurtenance to office [i. e., the returns] be disobeyed, immediately commit for contempt, or if [the electors] attempt the exercise of authority by meeting, attach for contempt. Prepare beforehand, and enforce immediately would be appropriate. Would be humane to imprison them separately during Wednesday. All depends on your State. Let nothing undo. Keep us advised.

Here, with this attempt to seize by force of arms and the usurped authority of a shameless court the high office which they had tried in four States to buy, the Reformed Democracy may be left to the judgment of history. The South Carolina scheme at last fell to the ground because the one part necessary to give validity to all the rest was not obtained. The four votes wanted in the State Senate could not be bought; the eventful day came; the Republican Senate stood firm; and the votes of the seven electors were duly cast on the 6th of December for Hayes and Wheeler.

## THE OREGON TELEGRAMS.

### THE OPERATIONS OF J. N. H. PATRICK AND SENATOR KELLY.

#### BUYING AN ELECTOR.

Young men! will you mark these wrong-doers of 1876 with the indignation of a betrayed, wronged and sacrificed people? [A voice: "You bet we will."]—[SAMUEL J. TILDEN. Speech at Gramercy Park.

It is a greater crime against mankind than the usurpation of Dec. 3, 1851, depicted by the illustrious pen of Victor Hugo. The American people will not condone it under any pretext or for any purpose.—[SAMUEL J. TILDEN. Speech at Gramercy Park, Oct. 27, 1877.

The plot of the Democratic managers in Oregon was to create a Tilden Electoral College after the election, by causing Governor Grover to issue a certificate to one Democrat (Cronin) who had not been elected, in the place of one of the Republican electors who was said to be ineligible. Cronin was then to develop himself into a full Electoral College by "filling vacancies" in his own body, and was to cast the single vote which Mr. Tilden needed in order to become President. But, for the success of this plan it was necessary that

one of the two Republican electors who held regular certificates should be bribed to recognize and act with Cronin. To secure this, one J. N. H. Patrick was sent to Oregon. He corresponded with Colonel Pelton by means of a "Dictionary Cipher," the book used being the "Household English Dictionary" published by T. Nelson & Sons, London, and the translations made by turning forward four pages. Patrick announced that he could "purchase one Republican elector for \$5,000, and Colonel Pelton having assented to the arrangement, the money was deposited in a New-York banking house, and transferred by telegraph to Salem, where it was received on the very day of the casting of the vote, but too late to be available. The cause of the delay is explained in the following correspondence:

### THE CASE OF OREGON.

It was certain from the start that Oregon had been carried for Hayes. On November 9, two days after the election, Governor Grover telegraphed to *The New-York Herald*, and to a number of persons in California and elsewhere, in almost identical words, "Oregon has gone for Hayes by over 400." To one J. Teal in San Francisco he telegraphed: "Oregon certain for Hayes and Dick Williams." Mr. Pelton sent word to A. Nolter, editor of a Democratic paper in Portland, that Tilden was nevertheless elected; but trouble soon began to appear, and in the course of the same day some of the Democratic politicians frankly confessed that Hayes was elected unless Oregon could be added to the Democratic column. The chairman of the Democratic National Committee telegraphed as follows:

[1.]

NEW-YORK, NOV. 9.

To Governor GROVER, Salem:

Send us report of your State. Result of election may depend on your vote. ABRAM S. HEWITT.

[2.]

SALEM, NOV. 9.

ABRAM S. HEWITT, New-York:

Oregon Republican by 400. Give us first decisive result. L. F. GROVER.

[3.]

SALEM, NOV. 9.

ABRAM S. HEWITT, New-York:

Inform me immediately number electoral votes Tilden has, and prospects. L. F. GROVER.

[4.]

SALEM, NOV. 10.

W. T. PELTON, New-York:

Telegraph the first news making Tilden's election certain; anxiously waiting. L. F. GROVER.

And then followed this ingenuous message (unsigned), which suggests that Governor Grover was thought to be talking too much for the good of the party:

[5.]

NEW-YORK, NOV. 10.

Hon. A. J. BRYANT, Mayor, San Francisco:

Caution Governor Oregon immediately not to express any opinion as to result in that State. It is evidently very close.

Governor Grover thereupon seems to have become so cautious that even his party friends could not extract an opinion from him. The following impatient message is rather comic when read by the light of the previous one:

[6.]

ST. LOUIS, NOV. 13.

Governor GROVER, Salem:

Do send something definite immediately.

SENATOR BOGGY.  
S. HUTCHINS.

The plan for the capture of an electoral vote for Tilden in Oregon was developed in a dispatch from Mr. Hewitt to Governor Grover, on the 15th of November. One of the Republican electors, John W. Watts, was disqualified to serve, because at the time of the election he was postmaster at Lafayette, in Yam Hill County. He obviated the difficulty by resigning his Federal appointment, and subsequently the other electors chose him, as the law empowered them to do, to fill the vacancy in the electoral body caused by his previous disability, that disability being now removed. The Democratic managers in New-York, however, proposed to Governor Grover that he should assume the authority to withhold the certificate from Watts, and grant it instead to one of the defeated electors on the Tilden ticket, who would then proceed to cast the one vote which Mr. Tilden needed; and this was to be done in spite of the fact that in Oregon, according to the laws of that State, it was not the Governor but the Secretary of State who had to canvass the returns and declare the result. In suggesting this plan to Governor Grover, Mr. Hewitt only stated the strongest legal arguments he could find in support of such an extraordinary and inequitable course. It does not appear that he contemplated the corrupt transactions afterward found necessary to give validity to the Governor's action, nor is any reference found to him in the cipher business. Mr. Hewitt disappeared from the correspondence before there was any question of bribery.

As soon as the Oregon plan was devised, a telegram was sent to Senator Kelly (who had started for the East) requesting him to go back on account of urgent business, and at the same time Colonel Pelton asked Dr. George L. Miller, of Omaha, a member of the Democratic National Committee, to proceed at once to Oregon, and assist in the work. Miller could not go, but he sent Mr. J. N. H. Patrick.

[7.]

OMAHA, NOV. 19.

W. T. PELTON, Gramercy Park, New-York:

Will send better man first train, 11:45 a. m., to a telegraph office. GEO. L. MILLER.

[8.]

OMAHA, Nov. 19.

W. T. PELTON, *Gramercy Park, New-York*:

My going out of question. Man gone with authority to open letters and telegrams at Salem. Trust me for outcome.

GEO. L. MILLER.

The scheme of operations seems to have been arranged at Portland, after a consultation between the Governor, Mr. C. B. Bellinger, chairman of the State Executive Committee, Senator Kelly, Patrick, and others. As a preliminary it was determined to purchase the support, or at least the silence, of the principal Republican paper, *The Oregonian*, by engaging the Editor as "counsel" for the Democratic managers, at a fee of \$3,000, although there were several eminent Democratic lawyers who stood ready to attend to whatever legal business might arise without any compensation at all. Then it was deemed necessary to bribe one of the Republican electors to recognize and act with the man whom the Governor intended to appoint. This was the point upon which the whole plot hinged, and to this Mr. Patrick, who had a keen eye for business devoted himself without an hour's unnecessary delay. He received encouragement at the start from a gentleman in New-York whose name will be met with later in connection with the deposit of the money.

[9.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 27.

J. N. H. PATRICK:

Secure your point at all hazards. Communicate with me immediately, giving prospects. DAVIS.

Mr. Patrick lost no time in establishing the code of cipher which played so large a part in the crisis of the negotiations, and his first use of it stated the conditions of the bargain he had concluded with almost brutal frankness.

[10.]

PORTLAND, Nov. 28.

W. T. PELTON, *New-York*:

By vizier association innocuous to negligence cunning minutely previously readmit doltish to purchase afar act with cunning afar sacristy unweighed afar pointer tigress cuttle superannuated syllabus dilatoriness misapprehension contraband kountze bisulous top usher spiniferous. Answer.

J. N. H. PATRICK.  
JAMES K. KELLY.

I fully indorse this.

[Translation.]

Certificate will be issued to one Democrat. Must purchase Republican elector to recognize and act with Democrat and secure vote and prevent trouble. Deposit ten thousand dollars my credit Kountze Brothers, 12 Wall-st. Answer.

J. N. H. PATRICK.  
JAMES K. KELLY.

I fully indorse this.

But it occurred to him at the same time that the Republicans might possibly imitate the trick and neutralize all his efforts by capturing an elector in some Democratic State. Anxious to be reassured on this point before he risked money on what might turn out to be worthless, he telegraphed at once to Pelton:

[11.]

PORTLAND, Nov. 29.

W. T. PELTON, *New-York*:

Vizier we latch alb doltish hothouse conceded cunning sojourners. Answer.

[Translation.]

Will we lose any Democrat in conceded Democratic States? Answer.

Pelton answered both Mr. Patrick's dispatches at once. He told him there was no danger of losing a Democratic elector. As for the bribe, he did not wish to pay in advance; but otherwise the proposal met with his entire approval:

[12.]

NEW-YORK, Nov. 29.

J. N. H. PATRICK, *Portland*:

Moral hasty sideral vizier gabble cramp by hemistic welcoms licentiate musketeer compassion neglectful recoverable hothouse live innovator brackish association dine afar idolater session hemistic mitre.

[Translation.]

No. How soon will Governor decide certificate? If you make obligation contingent on result in March it can be done and incremable slightly if necessary.

In this dilemma Patrick applied to Dr. Miller for the use of his influence in persuading Pelton to pay cash promptly. Miller used a different dictionary from that employed in the New-York correspondence; but the cipher seems to have been arranged on the same plan as the other, and is so plainly translated by the first five words of the next dispatch that it is unnecessary to seek for the book by which it was made.

[13.]

PORTLAND, Nov. 29.

Dr. GEORGE L. MILLER, *Omaha*:

Telegraph Pelton, Mordant dispensation washing horrid arabesque promptly. What news? P.

[13-2.]

OMAHA, Neb., Nov. 29.

W. T. PELTON, *Gramercy Park, N. Y.*:

Do whatever our friend asks promptly. On a still hunt in Nebraska, which you will hear from.

GEO. L. MILLER.

Patrick, in the meantime, sent the following answer to Colonel Pelton's inquiry, and reiterated his demand for cash in advance:

[14.]

PORTLAND, Nov. 30.

W. T. PELTON, *No. 15 Gramercy Park, New-York*:

Gabble achromatic reject waggie refrangible vizier innocuous by tit awing a sacerdotal readmit sympathize hemistic by innocuous taster hepatic cunning cazique afar extancy uninvited thus crimps action of gabble negligence doltish minutely association o'er taster purchase cunning taster sacrist license graduation drive sympathy disunite self readmit operatic march jaundiced excitable sympathy syllabus vizier subservient eyeservice syllabus nor readmit doltish minutely proposal medicine brazen licentiate excitable compassion retaliation ridicule. Kelly and Bellinger vizier act cipher suscite minutely act prayerbook.

[Translation.]

Governor all right without reward. Will issue certificate Tuesday. This a secret. Republicans threaten, if certificate issued, to ignore Democratic claim and fill vacancy, thus defeat action of Governor. One elector must be paid to recognize Democrat to secure majority. Have employed three [lawyers] Editor only Republican paper as one lawyer; fee \$3,000. Will take \$5,000 for Republican elector. Must raise money; can't make fee contingent. Sail Saturday. Kelly and Bellinger will act. Cipher them. Must act promptly.

Governor Grover promptly confirmed the statement of Mr. Patrick by his notorious cipher dispatch to Mr. Tilden.

[15.]

PORTLAND, Dec. 1.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN, 15 Gramercy Park, New-York:

Heed scantiness cramp emerge peroration hot-house survivor browse of pia mater doltish hot-house exactness of survivor highest cunning doltish afar galvanic survivor by accordingly neglectful merciless of senator incongruent coalesce.

GABBLE.

[Translation.]

I shall decide every point in the case of post office elector in favor of the highest Democratic elector, and grant the certificate accordingly on morning of 6th instant. Confidential. GOVERNOR.

There has been some difficulty in understanding why Colonel Pelton, who was so ready in his assent to Patrick's first proposals, should have hesitated, when it came to the point, about depositing the modest sum of money demanded in Oregon to make his uncle President. But recent disclosures have cleared up what was obscure. It was on the day of this message from "Gabble" (Dec. 1), that Woolley telegraphed from Tallahassee his first offer of the Florida Returning Board for "half of a hundred thousand dollars"; and it was on the same day that Colonel Pelton replied "will deposit dollars agreed; cannot, however, draw before vote of member received." On that memorable 1st of December, too, Colonel Pelton learned that "Moses" was "making propositions to the enemy" in Florida; a piece of intelligence confirmed the next day by the "Bolivia" forwarded by Mr. Marble, "to hand over at any hour required Tilden decision of Board, and certificate of Governor for \$200,000." On the 1st of December, likewise, the final scheme for the purchase of "four Senators," and a "couple new negroes" in South Carolina, as a preparation for the forcible ousting and imprisonment of the Hayes electors, was well under way. While these large operations impended it probably seemed like a waste of money to spend \$8,000 in Oregon for what at best was only a doubtful chance of throwing the contest for the Presidency into Congress. And so Mr. Pelton still held the purse half shut.

[16.] NEW-YORK, Dec. 1.

J. N. H. PATRICK, Portland:

Brazen welcome sanative sisterhood magnanimity afar compound juggler bombardment tit afar dolorous doltish mitre enow watch association o'er engitarius portal notice sojourn summons welcome commissary gabble afar sanable aggregate.

[Translation.]

Can't you send special messenger and convene Legislature by Tuesday, and elect elector. Necessary expense would be paid. See proceedings other States. Telegraph yourself; consult Governor and Senator. Answer.

The next two dispatches are important because they refute the pretence that these first proposals of Patrick's were rejected at Gramercy Park, and that the money afterward sent to Oregon was intended only for legitimate legal expenses. It will be seen that Patrick fully explained what the funds were needed for, and the reader will observe the precision with which Colonel Pelton lays down the conditions upon which it is to be paid:

[17.]

PORTLAND, Dec. 1.

W. T. PELTON, Gramercy Park:

Movey's compound taster compound juggler brack-

ish limitation with filth syllabus at pliers minutely graduation innovator medicament buzzards graduation Charles Dimon, 115 Liberty-st., summons innovator taster boatman argosy Salem swing vizier sacrist cunning unweighed achromatic ambiguously at warm grout brazen erratic. Can do no more. Sail morning. Answer Kelly in cipher.

[Translation.]

Not time to convene Legislature. Can manage with four thousand at present. Must have it Monday certain. Have Charles Dimon, 115 Liberty-st., telegraph it to Bush, banker, Salem. This will secure Democratic vote. All are at work here. Can't fail. Can do no more. Sail morning. Answer Kelly in cipher.

The four thousand mentioned in this dispatch was evidently in addition to the money required for the "Editor only Republican paper," and Colonel Pelton so understood it, for the next day, having determined to make sure of a vote wherever he could, he telegraphed as follows:

[18.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 2, 1876—8:30 A. M.

J. N. H. PATRICK, Portland:

Cuttle doctrinal for consecratory excitable anaroh delinable sweep abhorred welcome at welken hall. Treas movables taster associating unhorsed twinkle sweep brook oats amphibolous purchase cunning doltish afar dispirit figulate his unweighed taster unrestrained plumous.

[Translation.]

Deposit [ed?] eight for counsel fee as directed. They advised you at your home. Understand not to be used unless they carry out arrangement, recognize Democratic elector, and duly forward his vote to Vice-President.

Several days before this, Mr. C. E. Tilton, of the Liberty-st. house, telegraphed to Mr. A. Bush, the banker at Salem: "Use all means to prevent certificate; very important;" and Mr. Bush now sent the following dispatch, before the intelligence that the "eight" had been deposited reached him:

[19.]

SALEM, Dec. 2—11:50 A. M.

C. E. TILTON, 115 Liberty-st., New-York:

Subre. Can myriad [ten thousand] be had for subject matter if needed? A. BUSH.

The fact is Colonel Pelton had procrastinated too long, and the deposit was useless. Mr. Patrick left Portland in the morning, and when the "eight for counsel fee" was transferred by telegraph to his bankers in Salem, he was already on the way to San Francisco, and the money could not be drawn. Mr. Pelton seems to have been somewhat uneasy at getting no acknowledgment, so he telegraphed again the same day:

[20.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 2.

J. N. H. PATRICK:

Brazen trentals sail morning hothouse irritate welcome scrub radiate valuation amphibolous summons irritate monkey rider unhorse nauseous veto inmost model sanative welkin summoner taster intervert Everett harshly. W.

[Translation.]

Can't understand "sail morning" in your last. You should remain. Was arrangement telegraphed last night satisfactory? Use official [iv?] what is needful. Send your telegram to King, Everett House.

Still getting no answer, Pelton telegraphed to Senator Kelly:

[21.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 2—4:45 P. M.

**Hon. J. K. KELLY:**

Summons P. Irritate monkey afar tautology graduation moral ratiocination has be joy aggregate.

[Translation.]

Telegraphed P. last night and to-day. Have no reply. Has he left? Answer.

Senator Kelly's reply showed the state of the case:

[22.]

PORTLAND, Dec. 2—5:35 P. M.

**W. T. PELTON:**

Hoop taster compound juggler joy attenuate summoner amplitude brazen discontent survivor doctrinal cuttle Charles Dimon 115 Liberty-st., taster niveous Bush &amp; Ladd Salem minutegun graduation innovator medicament bruzen frontals intervert Everett harshly irritate welkin summoner.

K. for P.

[Translation.]

Impossible to convene Legislature. P. left before telegram arrived. Can't draw the eight. Deposit Charles Dimon, 115 Liberty-st., to order Bush &amp; Ladd, Salem. Must have it Monday. Can't understand "invert Everett harshly"—last your telegram.

Senator Kelly complains that he cannot understand three words of Pelton's telegram. This illustrates a difficulty often experienced by some of the persons who used the dictionary cipher, in consequence of an unavoidable defect in that system which they did not understand. The word "invert" in the cipher stands for "King," which was the name of the clerk who translated dispatches at the Democratic headquarters. The sender of the message, when he turned it into cipher, looked for the word King in his dictionary, and found it to be the sixtieth word in the first column of page 109. In accordance with the rule, he then went to the first column of page 105 to find the cipher equivalent, but that column contains only fifty-eight words, and the sixtieth, "invert," accordingly comes in the second line of the second column. When Senator Kelly tried to translate the cipher back into plain English, he naturally turned from "invert" in the second column of page 105 to the corresponding place on page 109, and there he found not "King" but "kiss."

[23.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 2, 1876.

Received at San Francisco, 2d, 12:10 a. m.

**Hon. J. K. KELLY, Portland:**

Summons grouse P's definable off well featherbed empiric avant brazen calendar innovator grouse mowing vibration vizard P psalmody daw veto scantiness association dine aggregate.

[Translation.]

Telegraph here P's direction. Paid yesterday, following exactly behest. Can't change it here now. When will P. reach destination? What shall be done? Answer.

[24.] PORTLAND, Dec. 3.

**W. T. PELTON:**

P vizier association at Grand Hotel San Francisco medicament association Salt Lake City sympathy countless swallow graduation taster bedaub medicine neglectful misapprehension inmixable recollection inextinguishable welcome brackish ratan innovator.

[Translation.]

P. will be at Grand Hotel, San Francisco, Monday; be at Salt Lake City three days thereafter. Have to borrow money on my individual responsibility in trust you can replace it.

Here was the explanation of the whole difficulty. The money was lying in bank at Portland subject to the order of Patrick, and Patrick had gone to San Francisco, leaving matters in the hands of Senator Kelly, who of course could not touch the funds which were deposited in another man's name.

[25.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 3.

**Hon. JAMES K. KELLY:**

Summons grouse fuddle accession welcome scantiness association quintessence different moveable erratic achromatic honeymoon abhor pounce.

[Translation.]

Telegraph here. Go ahead. You shall be reimbursed. Do not fail. All important. Advise progress.

Then Colonel Pelton hurried to get at Patrick in San Francisco:

[26.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 4.

**J. N. H. PATRICK, Grand Hotel, San Francisco:**

Matters fixed here just as you first directed. Communicate with your friends there so they can act promptly. Answer.

And Patrick replied next day:

[27.]

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 5.

**W. T. PELTON, New-York:**

Just arrived 9 p. m. Have communicated. P.

At the same time he sent the following to Senator Kelly, who remained at the capital of Oregon, trying to get the money:

[28.]

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 5.

**J. K. KELLY, Salem:**

Headquarters telegraph me my request granted as first asked. Will make transfer to you to-morrow. Will programme be carried out? Answer. PATRICK.

[29.]

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 5.

**KOUNTZE BROS., No. 12 Wall-st., N. Y.:**

Has my account credit by any funds lately? How much?

J. N. H. PATRICK.

[30.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 6.

**J. N. H. PATRICK, San Fran.:**

DAVIS deposited \$8,000 December 1st.

KOUNTZE BROTHERS.

[31.]

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 6.

**J. K. KELLY, Salem:**

Why don't you answer? J. N. H. PATRICK.

Senator Kelly apparently did not answer because he was still unable to get the cash, which the blunder of Pelton, or Patrick, or both, had placed where it could do no good.

It was now the day for the final vote. On the 5th Governor Grover had proceeded to act out his part in the performance by burlesquing the forms of law and the principles of equity in the Supreme Court-room, where he took his seat on the bench and gravely invited the representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties to argue the question as to the appointment of a person to fill the alleged vacancy in the electoral body. This he did although he had telegraphed secretly to Mr. Tilden, four days before, that he should "decide every point in the case in favor of the Democratic elector." The Republicans contented themselves with a protest, denying the Governor's jurisdiction. The Democrats argued their side until nearly mid-

night, and then the prearranged judgment was formally postponed until the morning.

Meanwhile extraordinary exertions were made, both at Salem, at San Francisco, and at New-York, to repair the blunder about the transmission of the money. It was known at Gramercy Park that the plot in Florida had failed, and that the prospect in Columbia was unpromising. A second deposit was made—this time in the Liberty Street banking-house.

[32.]

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 5.  
Received Salem, 6th, 10 a. m.

Messrs. LADD &amp; BUSH:

The funds from New-York will be deposited your credit here to-morrow when bank opens. I know it. Act accordingly. W. C. GRISWOLD.

This message, it will be seen, did not reach Salem till the morning of the meeting of the electoral college, when it was probably too late. Messrs. Ladd & Bush appear to have been too prudent to pay out money in any irregular way, and late in the afternoon of the 5th the following unsigned dispatch, doubtless from Senator Kelly, was placed on the wires:

[33.]

SALEM, Dec. 5—4 P. M.

W. T. PELTON, No. 15 Gramercy Park:

Brzen welcome cuttle survivor doctrinal Charles Dimon squab taster niveous Ladd & Bush Salem brazen fracture medicine grout minute-gun graduation innovator venom summons loweringly Salem. We vizard moveless erratic.

[Translation.]

Can't you deposit the eight Charles Dimon subject to order Ladd & Bush, Salem? Can't get money here. Must have it Wednesday. Telegraph me Salem. We will not fail.

On the morning of the 6th, the deposit was at last arranged:

[34.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 6.  
Received Salem 6th, 2:40 p. m.

LADD &amp; BUSH:

Unable to find Charles Dimon at his office. We hold certificate check payable to your order for \$8,000 on Bank of North America subject to your instructions.

MARTIN & RUNYON,  
40 Wall-street.  
NEW-YORK, Dec. 6.

[35.]

LADD &amp; BUSH, Salem:

Martin & Runyon have deposited medicine dollars for your account. CHARLES DIMON.

[36.]

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 6.

LADD &amp; BUSH, Salem:

Deposited \$7,380 to your bank. G.

This amount was the equivalent in gold of the \$8,000 currency. It was supposed that everything was now fixed, so that the "programme" could "be carried out," and the conspirators telegraphed to Mr. Kelly in some excitement. The first dispatch is doubtless from Mr. Patrick:

[37.]

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 6.

J. K. KELLY, Salem:

Survivor doctrinal cuttled merciless justification mortal sulphury pointer vomitive unhorse welkin demit.

[Translation.]

The eight deposited morning. Let no technicality prevent winning. Use your discretion.

[38.]

Dec. 6.

To C. B. BELLINGER, Salem:

See Bush. Tell Kelly telegraph result Grand Hotel. Answer. F.

And there is little risk in assuming that the following unsigned cipher is from the estimable Colonel Pelton, who rose betimes that with the sun he might his course of duty run:

[39.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 6—8:35 A. M.

JAMES K. KELLY, Salem:

Inmost welkin lorimer buzzard swain minutely association moral mathematics achromatic carpeted neglectful welcome peerage moral rackrent neglectful alb exaggeration rationale flatulent sympathy simpleton sonneteer aggregate profound.

[Translation.]

Is your matter certain? There must be no mistake. All depends on you. Place no reliance on any favorable report from three Southern States. Answer quick.

The Governor's decision was withheld until the very last moment. A few minutes before the stroke of noon, when the electors were to meet and record their votes, he produced the certificates made out in favor of two Republicans, Odell and Cartwright and one Democrat, Cronin (against whom the people had deposited a majority of more than 1,000), and gave them—all three to Cronin. And thus Governor Grover kept his promise to Mr. Tilden. Mr. Cronin refused to surrender or even exhibit the certificates to the two Republicans whom he claimed as colleagues. They, on the other hand, refused to recognize him; and when they proceeded to organize according to law, appointing Watts to fill the vacancy, Mr. Cronin retired into a corner of the same room and there got up a college of his own, appointing two colleagues, and then solemnly depositing a vote for Mr. Tilden. Strange stories are told about about the final scene. Whether one of the Republican electors could have been bought or not, will possibly never be known. But at noon the money had not arrived. In this case, as in the two other cases described in these pages, the opportunity for a corrupt bargain slipped away while the paymaster procrastinated. In Florida, as Mr. Woolley telegraphed, "Power" was "secured too late." In South Carolina a "little delay" defeated the project for buying "a majority of Board" for \$80,000; and now in Oregon—the last hope of the defeated—it was nearly three hours after the appointed time when the message came to Ladd & Bush that the deposit had been made to their order in New-York. The vast and complex scheme of fraud fell to pieces; and with the following curt and melancholy message, Colonel William T. Pelton retired from practical politics into private life:

[40.]

NEW-YORK, Dec. 8.

J. K. KELLY, Salem:

Summons decisive taster redoubted survivor taster ostiary sunsolid joy innovator aggregate.

(Forwarded from Salem.)

[Translation.]

Telegraph Dimon to return the — to party that left it. Answer.

# LOCAL TELEGRAMS.

## SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE SECRET OPERATIONS IN FLORIDA.

### CIPHERS FOR HOME USE.

Among the cipher telegrams not originally published with the more important dispatches given in the preceding pages were numerous communications which passed between the local politicians in Florida. Some, though curious in themselves, were omitted from THE TRIBUNE's narrative because the case was complete without them, and their introduction would only obstruct the story. Others related to transactions of which the full bearings had not then been discovered. A few of them are given, however, herewith, as an appendix to the history of the conspiracy.

The local cipher telegrams in Florida were, with a few exceptions, composed either of letters having an arbitrary signification, or of numbers standing for the letters of the alphabet. In either case, two characters were used to represent each letter.

#### THE DOUBLE LETTER CIPHER.

The following is a specimen of the Double Letter Cipher:

[A.]

JACKSONVILLE, 13.

1:12 a. m., Nov. 14.

GEO. P. RANNEY:

Yeeiemnssppaaisitpinaititaashshyyp  
iimimnssspeenaaimaenneyianpinisim  
mpeaatyyen. DANIEL.

It was evident, on a slight examination, that each letter in this cipher was not a substitute for another letter, because double characters—for example, ee, pp, yy, aa, nn, ss, etc.—occurred too frequently, and in one case the letter s was found three times consecutively. Probably, then, each letter in the cipher alphabet consisted of two characters. Adopting this supposition, the translator turned to the following dispatch, which, being partly in plain English, seemed to promise a clue:

[B.]

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 22.

G. PARCO, Tallahassee:

Gave ppaishsh  
charge of ittyitn  
she sent to ma  
pinisimyy  
pit But not to  
the other. Brevard returns  
sent you to-day Em y  
ypissainy  
Gone to Tallahassee Talla  
with him and let me know if I  
shall send trusty messenger.

J. J. DANIEL.

This refers to the Democratic operations for col-

lecting the precinct returns from all the Florida counties before the Canvassing Board proceeded to throw out those which were manifestly false. It appeared to be nearly certain that the first cipher word was the name of a person, and the second and third were names of counties. If we assume that each cipher consists of two letters, we must find as the equivalent of "ityyitns" a word of four letters, the first and third of which, "it," are the same. "Dade" is the only name in the list of Florida counties which fulfils these conditions. The letters of "Dade" are repeated in the next word, and fit in with the obvious interpretation "Brevard." The six characters now deciphered give as the beginning of the first dispatch quoted above, the following fragment:

" \* \* ve \*\*\*dred d\*\*\*ar"

—which, of course, can be nothing but "Five hundred dollars." This gives the cipher equivalent of eight more letters. The construction of the rest of the alphabet was now easy, and in a very short time the first dispatch was made out to be, "Five hundred dollars sent you by express to-day," and the second was read: "Gave Hull charge of Dade, and he sent to Brevard, but not to the other. Brevard returns sent you to-day. Varnum gone to Tallahassee. Talla [talk!] with him and let me know if I shall send trusty messenger."

The dispatches in this cipher are of little importance by comparison with the correspondence of Marble, Coyle, Woolley and Pelton, written in much more elaborate and difficult cipher-system, and printed in the preceding pages of this pamphlet, yet they are not without value for purposes of illumina-

tion. The telegram about Dade and Brevard was in answer to the following:

[C.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 22.

J. J. DANIEL, Jacksonville:

Yapnsppsnypieiasiteipinseppeshen  
peppyyypepepppspinseimpyyitelep  
yahnyyynnaapieipeeneiasityyitnspp  
yemnsenaaimnsaepemaaaaitnyys  
sepppuspina. S. PASCO.

[Translation.]

We hear indirectly that there is Radical majority in Dade. Have you sent good man there?

The Florida politicians trusted a great deal to the Democratic visitors from the North, and seem to have been in frequent communication with New-York all through their time of trouble. One day Colonel Pelton telegraphed to Mr. Raney, of the Florida State Committee, two editorial articles on the Southern situation from *The New-York Herald*, one of them being a column long. For this luxury, Colonel Pelton had to pay \$133 20; but perhaps that was not too much, for it was probably the ablest dispatch he ever sent in his life. Mr. Coyle's progress from North Carolina to Tallahassee was traced with the absorbing interest with which a hungry army watches the coming up of the commissariat:

[D.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 11.

P. A. HOLT, Lake City:

Be firm; our friend from Raleigh will be down soon. A. B. HAWKINS.

The distinguished visitors were called upon for all sorts of service. The following telegram was somewhat damaged in transmission, but it is easily repaired:

[E.]

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 16.

GEO. F. RANEY, [Tallahassee]:

Fpyyemushyyypimashnsyyasitepaae  
nshnsseussnsmmplyyannpyeaaieia  
syeshainssepeelyyshnyssasyepiaa  
nyitnashyyaspyypinsyyasiteimeipim  
eiseelyyels[iteilep]yy[pe]eiaassima  
[ylespnasy]yiansseleassmmpnspinsan  
painsimyyitemyyapeyymmnsyyasit  
spyyeepppmaayypilt L'Engle goes up to-morrow. DANIEL.

[Translation.]

Have Marble and Coyle telegraph for influential men from Delaware and Virginia. Indications of weakening here. Press advantage, and watch Board. L'Engle goes up to-morrow.

In Baker County, it will be remembered, a fraudulent canvass was made surreptitiously by the County Clerk. The canvassers consisted by law of the County Judge, Sheriff, and Clerk, or any two of them. Taking advantage of a brief absence of his colleagues, the Clerk called in a Justice of the Peace to unite with him in making a canvass which gave a majority to Tilden, and this paper he hastily forwarded to the Secretary of State. Afterward the Judge and Sheriff made a lawful canvass, showing a small majority for Hayes. When their return was submitted to the Board by the Secretary of State, the Democrats professed to be "astounded." They caused it to be represented all over the North that they had no suspicion of the existence of such a

canvass until the Secretary of State pulled the "surreptitious" paper out of his pocket, and that nobody imagined there had been any other count of the vote than that made by the County Clerk and his improvised associate. It is rather comical to find, by these newly translated ciphers, that the Democratic "astonishment" was purely theatrical. The party leaders knew all about the double returns, and had been striving their hardest to collect testimony for the purpose of persuading the Board to revise the second count; or to quote the fine language of "Moses" used in reference to the action of the other party, "Emissaries went out over State to cook local backing for alterations in certificates." The following dispatch from Mr. Pasco was sent before the Board had opened any returns:

[F.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 27.

J. J. DANIEL, Jacksonville:

Regular Board organized. Will commence work to-morrow. There has been new canvass by full board eissmay ylan supins peiss eppe im indispensable. S. PASCO.

The translation of the last sentence is: "There has been new canvass by full Board in Baker; precincts indispensable." So the emissaries went to all the precincts and cooked local backing for alterations, and as a matter of fact the Board did revise the count, and give Baker to the Democrats. No doubt they could have reached their end just as well without the ridiculous pretence of being "astounded." But the captured telegrams abound with evidences of Democratic duplicity and nonsense.

#### THE DOUBLE NUMBER CIPHER.

The Double Number Cipher employed by the Florida politicians consisted of figures, without any intermixture of words. In undertaking the translation of this cipher it was assumed that the numbers stood for letters of the alphabet and not for words or phrases, since the construction of a vocabulary copious enough to give a separate arbitrary sign for every word that might be required in the course of an active correspondence extending over several weeks would be a work of enormous labor, and the vocabulary when complete would be too clumsy for use. Then it was observed that double and triple numbers occurred frequently in this code, whence it was inferred that, as in the case of the Double Letter Cipher, two figures were used for each letter. The figures were then pointed off by couples and written down in their numerical order. It soon appeared that they began at 20, and that there were twenty-four ciphers in all, 66 being the most frequent, and 93, 82 and 55 coming next in order.

In deciphering correspondence of this class, a knowledge of the relative frequency of the characters is of some help. E is used oftener than any other letter in our language, and after it come t, a, o, n, i, etc., etc. But this general rule does not always hold good in short telegrams, and it proved to be at fault when tried upon the few number-

messages in the possession of THE TRIBUNE. Some other clew to the interpretation therefore had to be sought, and it was found in the following dispatch:

[G.]

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 19, 1876.

J. J. DANIEL, Jacksonville, Fla.:

8455893193276689272042663455  
339320348055558993425533934844  
55522766832020553131664227829686  
93208266480352270344933482813127  
9393248396682203442824893448296  
396642488284523166422768755552  
483966823382093395527824866  
5248445542824889845596965233  
928464893208238993274893422066  
89273193434893429655208268828320662766  
775579852339952338448825533607768  
82332748775587934233554284663387682727  
82337793319384485542663187654893663320966633  
2066965227485596662589684318233063320845534  
778233668448829669320826648933189348-3131  
75932755627744484855965542425534

L'ENGLE.

At the date of this telegram, November 19, the Democratic managers at Tallahassee were in great excitement over the rumor that Governor Stearns meant to claim authority under the statutes of Florida, to canvass the Electoral votes. J. J. Daniel was one of the most important members of the Democratic State Executive Committee. E. M. L'Engle was one of his confidential men at the capital. It was natural to suppose that this dispatch referred to the chief topic of the day, and if so the word "canvass" must be in it somewhere. The problem was, therefore, to find a combination of seven numbers, of which the second and fifth, standing for A, should be the same, and the sixth and seventh (S b) also the same. The translator began at the beginning and tried every sequence of ciphers until at the end of the twelfth line one was found which fulfilled the desired conditions, namely, "84, 66, 33, 87, 66, 27, 27." This agrees well enough with what is known of the average frequency of the different letters; 66 is the commonest of these number ciphers, and A, though not quite so common a letter as E, stands but little below it. If 66 represents A, and 33 represents N, we may safely assume that the combination 66, 33, 20, which occurs four times in this dispatch, means "and." We now have the translation of six of the cipher characters, standing for A, C, D, N, S and V. Writing out the numbers in vertical columns, and placing the equivalent letter opposite every one that has been discovered, we get several pieces of words that are easily filled out. For instance the fragment, "—sand d""a""a" is plainly "thousand dollars," and this gives us six more letters. Twelve important characters being known, the rest follow quickly, and we have this cipher alphabet:

20.....d	62.....x
25.....k	66.....a
27.....s	69.....f
31.....l	75.....b
33.....n	77.....g
34.....w	82.....i
39.....p	84.....o
42.....r	87.....v
44.....h	89.....y

48.....t	93.....e
52.....u	96.....m
55.....o	99.....j

The letters q and z are not in any of the dispatches so far examined.

This alphabet fits all the dispatches on which it has been tried, and it yields, for the one quoted above, the following translation:

TALLAHASSEE, Nov. 19.

J. J. DANIEL, Jacksonville: Coyle says draw on Edw. Cooper \$1,000 immediate use; he will see it paid. Write him particulars about Paine deposit. Authority communicated in yesterday's letter modified as above. Injunction against Governor canvassing electoral vote, and mandamus to make McLin and Cowgill act immediately will be sought to-morrow.

L'ENGLE.

Another dispatch, dated two days earlier, indicates that for some scheme the Democrats had on foot, they did not trust their own Attorney-General:

[H.]

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 17

S. PASCO and E. M. L'ENGLE.

84	55	84	25	93	34	82	31
31	75	93	82	77	33	55	52
93	20	90 [1]	66	77	65	33	84
63	31	81	93	20	82	33	66
52	48	44	55	42	82	46	89
42	93	31	82	66	75	31	93

DANIEL.

[Translation.]

Cooke will be ignored, Eagan called in. Authority reliable.

If Mr. Coyle's direction to "draw on Edw. Cooper one thousand dollars immediate use" was followed, there is no evidence that the money was needed for illegitimate purposes, or indeed that the draft was paid. Mr. Cooper was the Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, and Mr. Coyle is the kind of man to draw for one thousand dollars immediate use whenever he gets a chance. He is a very expensive person, and during the Florida campaign he seems to have been drawing all the time. Nor was he the only political agent in that little State who made heavy demands upon New-York. At the first intimation of doubt as to the result of the election, the Florida Democrats began to clamor for money. On the 10th of November, Messrs. Raney and Bloxham, of the State Executive Committee, telegraphed: "To Pelton or Hewitt, Everett House, New-York: How much material aid on sight." Coyle arrived at Jacksonville on the 13th, and instantly informed Mr. Havemeyer:

Necessary supply telegraphic credit of Payne Treasurer of the State Committee] in First — Bank, \$300.

This was a pretty large sum to be spent in a small State after the election was over; but it seems to have been paid, for H. H. replied that the name of the person and the name of the bank were unintelligible, and asked if Coyle could not "draw on 50." On the 18th Coyle united with Mr. Daniel and Mr. W. Call in requesting that the deposit should be changed to the credit of J. J. Daniel, and it is to this transaction that the "number dispatch" translated above probably refers. On the 18th Mr. Coyle drew on "23" for \$500. On the 19th he authorized Daniel to draw upon Mr. Cooper for \$1,000. On the 21st he drew for \$250.

On the 25th he drew for \$500. On the 29th he drew for \$550. On the 1st of December there is a complaint to Pelton that operations are "embarrassed at a critical time" because Coyle's demand for further supplies are not answered. On the 2d, H. telegraphs to Coyle "Unless you have received will remit again." On the 4th Coyle sends the following dispatch to Henry Havemeyer:

You will supply immediately telegraphic credit Coyle \$700, which will probably cover all expenses. Notify me promptly.

To which "P." replied in cipher:

[I.]

Twenty-three thinks all your seven have been forty-one. If not five or two any nine you twenty-one. Answer and report.

[Translation.]

"Twenty-three" thinks all your drafts have been honored. If not will remit or deposit any bank you telegraph. Answer and report.

A dispatch which so encouraged Colonel Coyle that he instantly drew again:

[J.]

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 5.

HENRY HAVEMEYER, New-York:

Not notify ten Thomas nine three Moses and this twelve immediately Greece will place twenty takes one Italy seven W. its any and what need. MAX.

[Translation.]

Supply \$700 telegraphic credit Woolley and Coyle and notify what bank immediately. Marble will not need any. This takes its place.

As all these drafts were in addition to the large ones made at the close of the canvass, to cover the purchase of the Canvassing Board, the question naturally arises, what can Mr. Coyle have wanted of so much money? There were many queer transactions among the Democrats in Florida during the period between the casting and the counting of the votes, and perhaps the following dispatches may

indicate some of the points at which the "material aid" of Colonel Pelton was required. It is well known that the proofs of violence and intimidation practised upon the colored voters in Florida were met in the Canvassing Board by remarkable affidavits from the white Democrats, and it would appear that these witnesses received minute instructions from headquarters as to what they were expected to swear to:

[K.]

Dec. 1.

F. McLEOD and A. B. HAGEN, Lake City:

Have Niblack, Ostern and the McKinneys make affidavits that they have never at any time used violence, force or intimidation, or threats thereof, to induce McNish, King, Simmons, Boyd, or Thomas or any other colored men, to vote Democratic ticket. Send affidavits to-morrow.

S. PASCO,

GEO. F. RANEY,

J. J. DANIEL,

S. L. NIBLACK.

Possibly these gentlemen, at Tallahassee or Jacksonville, knew what the McKinneys and other persons had never at any time done in the heart of a remote interior county; at any rate they were particular enough in saying just what they wanted. And it was, perhaps, a bundle of similarly precise affidavits that the enthusiastic but cautious Dickerson refers to in the following dispatch:

[L.]

CEDAR KEY, Nov. 28.

S. PASCO, Tallahassee:

82	44	66	87	93	82	96
39	55	42	48	66	33	48
39	66	39	93	42	27	96
55	42	93	48	44	66	33
89	55	52	93	62	39	93
84	48	93	20	77	42	96
48	87	66	31	52	93	

J. J. DICKERSON.

[Translation.]

I have important papers; more than you expected great value.

## Appendix F

### Pages 61-62 (Paragraph 36) from William F. Friedman's *Military Cryptanalysis, Part I*

36. Historically interesting examples.—*a.* Two examples of historical interest will be cited in this connection as illustrations. During the campaign for the presidential election of 1876 many cipher messages were exchanged between the Tilden managers and their agents in several states where the voting was hotly contested. Two years later the New York Tribune<sup>4</sup> exposed many irregularities in the campaign by publishing the decipherments of many of these messages. These decipherments were achieved by two investigators employed by the Tribune, and the plain text of the messages seems to show that illegal attempts and measures to carry the election for Tilden were made by his managers. Here is one of the messages:

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 16 (1876).

GEO. F. RANEY, Tallahassee.

P p y y e m n s n y y y p i m a s h n s y y s s i t e p a a e n s h n s  
p e n s s h n s m m p i y y s n p p y e a a p i e i s s y e s h a i n s s s p  
e e i y y s h n y n s s s y e p i a a n y i t n s s h y y s p y y p i n s y y  
s s i t e m e i p i m m e i s s e i y y e i s s i t e i e p y y p e e i a a s s  
i m a a y e s p n s y y i a n s s s e i s s m m p p n s p i n s s n p i n s i m  
i m y y i t e m y y s s p e y y m m n s y y s s i t s p y y p e e p p p m a  
a a y y p i i t

L'Engle goes up tomorrow.

DANIEL.

Examination of the message discloses that only ten different letters are used. It is probable, therefore, that what one has here is a cipher which employs a bipartite alphabet and in which combinations of two letters represent single letters of the plain text. The message is therefore rewritten in pairs and substitution of arbitrary letters for the pairs is made, as seen below:

PP	YY	EM	NS	NY	YY	PI	MA	SH	NS	YY	SS	etc.
A	B	C	D	E	B	F	G	H	D	B	I	etc.

A trilateral frequency distribution is then made and analysis of the message along the lines illustrated in the preceding section of this text yields solution, as follows:

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 16.

GEO. F. RANEY, Tallahassee:

Have Marble and Coyle telegraph for influential men from Delaware and Virginia. Indications of weakening here. Press advantage and watch Board. L'Engle goes up tomorrow.

DANIEL.

*b.* The other example, using numbers, is as follows:

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 17.

S. PASCO and E. M. L'ENGLE:

84	55	84	25	93	34	82	31	31	75	93	82	77	33	55	42
93	20	93	66	77	66	33	84	66	31	31	93	20	82	33	66
52	48	44	55	42	82	48	89	42	93	31	82	66	75	31	93

DANIEL.

<sup>4</sup> New York Tribune, Extra No. 44, *The Cipher Dispatches*, New York, 1879.

There were, of course, several messages of like nature, and examination disclosed that only 26 different numbers in all were used. Solution of these ciphers followed very easily, the decipherment of the one given above being as follows:

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 17.

S. Pasco and E. M. L'ENGLE:

Cocke will be ignored, Eagan called in. Authority reliable.

DANIEL.

c. The Tribune experts gave the following alphabets as the result of their decipherments:

AA=O	EN=Y	IT=D	NS=E	PP=H	SS=N
AI=U	EP=C	MA=B	NY=M	SH=L	YE=F
EI=I	IA=K	MM=G	PE=T	SN=P	YI=X
EM=V	IM=S	NN=J	PI=R	SP=W	YY=A
20=D	33=N	44=H	62=X	77=G	89=Y
25=K	34=W	48=T	66=A	82=I	93=E
27=S	39=P	52=U	68=F	84=C	96=M
31=L	42=R	55=O	75=B	87=V	99=J

They did not attempt to correlate these alphabets, or at least they say nothing about a possible relationship. The present author has, however, reconstructed the rectangle upon which these alphabets are based, and it is given below (fig. 16).

		2d Letter or Number									
		H	I	S	P	A	Y	M	E	N	T
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
1st Letter or Number	H 1										
	I 2					K		S			D
	S 3	L		N	W					P	
	P 4		R		H				T		
	A 5		U			O					
	Y 6		X				A		F		
	M 7					B		G			
	E 8		I		C			V		Y	
	N 9			E			M			J	
	T 0										

FIGURE 16.

It is amusing to note that the conspirators selected as their key a phrase quite in keeping with their attempted illegalities—HIS PAYMENT—for bribery seems to have played a considerable part in that campaign. The blank squares in the diagram probably contained proper names, numbers, etc.

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